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THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE AND PHILOLOGY

EDITED BY

JOHN G. ROBERTSON

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THE SCOTTISH SONNETEERS AND THE FRENCH POETS.

I PROPOSE, in the following article, to show that the Scottish Sonneteers of the beginning of the seventeenth century, more particularly William Drummond of Hawthornden, were largely indebted to the French poets of the second half of the sixteenth century. In his excellent edition of the *Poems* of Drummond (1894) W. C. Ward has proved that the Scottish poet had levied heavy loans on the Italian poets—more particularly Marino. His 'Notes' contain more than fifty poems or fragments of poems by Petrarch, Tasso, Guarini and Marino, which Drummond borrowed more or less directly. Long before Ward proved his case, it had been generally admitted that Drummond owed a good deal to the Italian poets, though very few instances had actually been quoted. No one, I believe, has so far traced the influence of French poetry on Drummond, and yet the result of the present investigation, I venture to think, demonstrates clearly that it was almost as considerable as that exercised by the Italian poets, with this difference that it was exclusively confined, apparently, to one poet, namely Phillippe Desportes, the author of *Diane* and other sonnet-collections, and himself an inveterate plagiarist from the Italians and from the Spanish poet Montemayor. It is well known, now, what a large number of sonnets contained in the Elizabethan sonnet-cycles were filched from the author of *Diane*. The infatuation of contemporary English poets—to whom must now be added Drummond—for the conceits and hyperboles of this purely court poet is really remarkable, and not a little difficult to explain. One would naturally expect them to go to Ronsard and Du Bellay for their models rather than to the Abbé de Tiron. It is true that the chief of the Pléiade and his lieutenant were not neglected, but they never enjoyed a tithe of Desportes' popularity. The fact remains, and is not a very flattering testimony to the taste of the poets concerned. Once it had been established that Drummond was largely indebted to the Italian poets, it was not unreasonable, in view especially of certain particulars in his biography, to conclude that he had also borrowed from the French poets. We know that he sojourned for two or three years in France as a student of civil law, and that during his stay there he devoted more of his time to the study of French authors than to that of jurisprudence. In the lists of books read, which Drummond was wont to draw up, we notice, for the years 1607–9, the names of Rabelais, Ronsard, Du Bartas, Pontus de Tyard and of a few others, to mention only the French authors. And a glance at the catalogue of his complete library, which he bestowed upon his Alma Mater the University of Edinburgh, in 1627, reveals the interesting fact that out of a total of some 550 books and manuscripts, about 120 are written in the French language. These details show plainly that Drummond's reading in French was wide and varied, and that he must have had an excellent knowledge of the language and literature of France.

Although Drummond was steeped in the poetry of foreign models, it is necessary and only fair to point out that he rarely descends to plagiarisms in the strict sense of the word; he never copies in a servile manner, with the original at his side, as did Lodge or Daniel. He is rather a skilful adapter than a translator, and so dexterous and ingenious is the adaptation, in most cases, that it is no easy matter to trace it back to its first source. Drummond read his models carefully, assimilated them and then refashioned the substance according to his own mould. This is more especially noticeable in his adaptations from Desportes. Perhaps Drummond, who was a Scotchman and therefore 'canny' by nature, thought that this precaution was particularly advisable in the case of Desportes, whose 'poetical writings,' as Lodge informs us, rather naïvely in his *Margarite of America*, were 'ordinarily in every man's hands.' Be this as it may, his adaptations of the French poet's sonnets are invariably superior to the original, in their more glowing and sumptuous imagery, and in a more skilful staging of the incidents leading up to the culminating thought. The Scottish poet also displays, in his 'spiritual' pieces, a depth of philosophic thought which, absent in his French model, constitutes the most striking characteristic of his verse.

Before passing on to consider Drummond's relation to Desportes, I may be permitted to add a few further cases of borrowing from the Italians to those already instanced by Ward. In the *Poems*, Sonnet IV ('Fair is my yoke, though grievous be my pains') is obviously merely a variation of Petrarch's well-known 'Amor mi sprona in un tempo ed affrena.' Sonnet XV ('To hear my plaints, fair river crystalline') is a loose adaptation of Sannazaro's 'Ecco ch' un' altra volta, o piagge apriche.' The same is true of No. XVI, which is here quoted with the Italian in parallel column, to shew how ingeniously Drummond frequently handles his foreign material:

Sweet brook, in whose clear crystal I mine eyes	Cari scogli, dilette e fide arene,
Have oft seen great in labour of their tears;	Che i miei duri lamenti udir solete;
Enamell'd bank, whose shining gravel bears	Antri, che notte e dì mi rispondete,
These sad characters of my miseries;	Quando de l' arder mio pietà vi viene:
High woods, whose mounting tops menace the spheres;	Folti boschetti, dolci valli amene,
Wild citizens, Amphions of the trees,	Fresche erbe, lieti fiori, ombre segrete;
You gloomy groves at hottest noons which freeze,	Strade, sol per mio ben riposte e quete,
Elysian shades, which Phœbus never clears;	D' amorosi sospir' già calde e piene:
Vast solitary mountains, pleasant plains,	O solitari colli, o verde riva,
Embroid'red meads that ocean-ways you reach;	Stanchi pur di veder gli affanni miei,
Hills, dales, springs, all that my sad cry constrains	Quando fia mai che riposato io viva?
To take part of my plaints, and learn woe's speech,	O per tal grazia un dì veggia colei
Will that remorseless fair e'er pity show?	Di cui vuol sempre Amor ch' io parli e scriva,
Of grace now answer if ye ought know. No.	Fermarsi al pianger mio quant' io vorrei?

Sonnet LII ('Fame, who with golden pens abroad dost range') is modelled on the first stanza of a canzone of Tasso of which the opening line is 'Fama, che i nomi gloriosi intorno.' In the spiritual poems the sonnet *For the Passion* ('If that the world doth in a maze remain'), in which Christ is likened to a pelican, was apparently suggested by the poem of Tasso in blank verse on the same subject. Lastly in the *Posthumous Poems*, there figures an Italian sonnet ('O chiome, parte de la treccia d' oro') entitled by Drummond 'Sonnet qu'un Poet Italien fit pour un bracelet de cheveux, qui luy avoit esté donné par sa Maistresse,' to which are appended three different translations by Drummond himself. Ward did not succeed in identifying the author of this Italian sonnet. After a good deal of search, I discovered that it was one of Tebaldeo's (*Opera d' Amore di Messer Antonio Tebaldeo*, Venezia, 1550, No. 106). These three translations of Tebaldeo's sonnet, especially the one bearing the superscription 'Paraphrastically Translated,' are most instructive; they shew how the Scottish poet could handle the foreign matter, knead and mould it, till it bore quite a different aspect and was well nigh unrecognisable.

We will now proceed to consider Drummond's dependence on Desportes. To start with the *Poems,* Sonnet XI ('Lamp of heaven's crystal hall that brings the hours') is manifestly suggested by the fourth sonnet of *Cleonice,* one of Desportes' various sonnet-collections ('D'une douleur poignante ayant l'ame blessée'). In writing Sonnet XIII ('O sacred blush, impurpling cheeks' pure skies') Drummond seems to have had in mind Desportes' 'Beaux nœux crespes et blonds nonchalamment épars' (*Œuvres,* ed. Michiels, p. 105). In Sonnet XX the Scottish poet paraphrases Sonnet XXXIII of the First Book of *Diane* (*Œuvres,* p. 26). Though the resemblance in particulars is slight, the substance is evidently borrowed:

All other beauties, howsoe'er they shine
In hairs more bright than is the golden ore,
Or cheeks more fair than fairest eglantine,
Or hands like hers who comes the sun before;
Match'd with that heavenly hue, and shape divine,
With those dear stars which my weak thoughts adore,
Look but like shadows, or if they be more,
It is in that, that they are like to thine.
Who sees those eyes, their force and doth not prove,
Who gazeth on the dimple of that chin,
And finds not Venus' son intrench'd therein,
Or hath not sense, or knows not what is love.
  To see thee had Narcissus had the grace,
  He sure had died with wond'ring on thy face.

  Si tost qu'au plus matin ma Diane s'éveille
(O Dieux! jugez mon heur!), je suis à son lever,
Et voy tout le plus beau qui se puisse trouver
Depuis les Indiens jusqu'où Phœbus sommeille.
  Ce n'est rien que le teint de l'Aurore vermeille,
Ce n'est rien que de voir, aux longues nuicts d'hyver,
Parmy le firmament mille feux arriver,
Et n'est vray que le ciel cache plus de merveille.
  Je la vois quelquefois, s'elle se veut mirer,
Esperdüe, estonnée, et long-tans demeurer
Admirant ses beautez, dont mesme elle est ravie:
  Et cependant (chestif!) immobile et poureux,
Je pense au beau Narcis de soy-mesme amoureux,
Craignant qu'un sort pareil mette fin à sa vie.

Sonnet XXIV, except for the concluding lines in which the motive is changed, is also an adaptation, this time from one of the religious compositions of Desportes (*Œuvres,* p. 509):

In mind's pure glass when I myself behold,
And vively see how my best days are spent,
What clouds of care above my head are roll'd,
What coming harms which I can not prevent:

  Quand, miroir de moy-mesme, en moy je me regarde,
Je voy comme le tans m'est sans fruict escoulé,
Tandis que, de jeunesse et d'amour affolé,
Ce monde en ses destours m'amuse et me retarde.

My begun course I, wearied, do repent,	La beauté de mes ans, comme un songe fuyarde,
And would embrace what reason oft hath told;	Me laisse en s'envolant le poil entremeslé,
But scarce thus think I, when love hath controll'd	Le teint palle et flestri, le cœur triste et gelé,
All the best reasons reason could invent, etc.	Qui pour tous beaux pensers la repentance garde, etc.

Another of the religious sonnets of Desportes (*Œuvres*, p. 507) is paraphrased in Sonnet XXXII of the *Poems*:

If crost with all mishaps be my poor life,	Si j'ay moins de pouvoir, plus j'ay de cognoissance,
If one short day I never spent in mirth,	Si ma vie est un but immobile aux malheurs,
If my spright with itself holds lasting strife,	Si mon feu se nourrist dans les flots de mes pleurs,
If sorrow's death is but new sorrow's birth;	Si la fin d'un travail d'un autre est la naissance,
If this vain world be but a sable stage	Si rien qu'en des tombeaux nuict et jour je ne pense,
Where slave-born man plays to the scoffing stars,	Si je n'aime que l'ombre et les noires couleurs,
If youth be toss'd with love, with weakness age,	Si le jour me desplaist, si mes fières douleurs
If knowledge serve to hold our thoughts in wars;	Au repos de la nuict croissent leur violence,
If time can close the hundred mouths of fame,	Si sans sçavoir pourquoy je ne fais que pleurer,
And make, what long since past, like that to be,	Si du monde inconstant l'on ne peut s'asseurer,
If virtue only be an idle name,	Si c'est un océan de misère et de peines,
If I, when I was born, was born to die;	Si je n'espère ailleurs ny salut ny secours,
Why seek I to prolong these loathsome days?	O mort! n'arreste plus, romps le fil de mes jours,
The fairest rose in shortest time decays.	Et meurtris quant et moy tant de morts inhumaines?

Sonnet XXXVI is modelled, with certain modifications in the phraseology, on the twelfth sonnet of *Les Amours d'Hippolyte* (*Œuvres*, p. 120):

Who hath not seen into her saffron bed	Celuy qui n'a point veu le printans gracieux,
The morning's goddess mildly her repose,	Quand il estale au ciel sa richesse prisée,
Or her, of whose pure blood first sprang the rose,	Remplissant l'air d'odeurs, les herbes de rosée,
Lull'd in a slumber by a myrtle shade;	Les cœurs d'affections et de larmes les yeux.
Who hath not seen that sleeping white and red	Celuy qui n'a point veu par un tans furieux
Makes Phœbe look so pale, which she did close	La tourmente cesser et la mer appaisée,
In that Ionian hill, to ease her woes,	Et qui ne sçait, quand l'âme est du corps divisée,

Which only lives by nectar kisses fed;
Come but and see my lady sweetly sleep,
The sighing rubies of those heavenly lips,
The Cupids which breast's golden apples keep,
Those eyes which shine in midst of their eclipse,
And he them all shall see, perhaps, and prove
She waking but persuades, now forceth love.

Comme on peut s'esjouyr de la clarté des cieux.
Qu'il s'arreste pour voir la celeste lumière
Des yeux de ma déesse, une Venus première;
Mais que dy-je? ah! mon Dieu! qu'il ne s'arreste pas:
S'il s'arreste à la voir, pour une saison neuve,
Un tans calme; une vie, il pourroit faire espreuve
De glaçons, de tempeste et de mille trespas.

Of the pieces in the *Second Part of the Poems*, the opening lines of Sonnet IX are borrowed from a sonnet of *Diane* (*Œuvres*, p. 15):

Sweet Spring, thou turn'st with all thy goodly train,
Thy head with flames, thy mantle bright with flow'rs:
The zephyrs curl the green locks of the plain,
The clouds for joy in pearls weep down their show'rs.

Voicy du gay printans l'heureux advénement,
Qui fait que l'hyver morne à regret se retire:
Déjà la petite herbe, au gré du doux zéphyre,
Navré de son amour, branle tout doucement.

The next sonnet (No. X) is also adapted, for the most part, from yet another sonnet of *Diane* (*Œuvres*, p. 20):

What doth it serve to see Sun's burning face,
And skies enamell'd with both the Indies' gold,
Or moon at night in jetty chariot roll'd,
And all the glory of that starry place?
What doth it serve earth's beauty to behold,
The mountains' pride, the meadows' flow'ry grace,
The stately comeliness of forests old,
The sport of floods, which would themselves embrace? etc.

Las! que me sert de voir ces belles plaines
Pleines de fruits, d'arbrisseaux et de fleurs,
De voir ces prez bigarrez de couleurs,
Et l'argent vif des bruyantes fontaines?
C'est autant d'eau pour reverdir mes peines,
D'huile à ma braise, à mes larmes d'humeurs,
Ne voyant point celle pour qui je meurs,
Cent fois le jour, de cent morts inhumaines,
Las! que me sert d'estre loin de ses yeux
Pour mon salut, si je porte en tous lieux
De ses regards les sagettes meurtrières? etc.

But it is in the *Flowers of Sion or Spiritual Poems* (1623) that the dependence of Drummond on Desportes is most conspicuous. The sonnets contained in this collection, several of which had already appeared with certain alterations under the title of *Urania*, have hitherto been held to constitute Drummond's most original work in that form of composition. In his Introductory Memoir, Ward says 'Nearly all the pieces of this volume [*The Flowers of Sion*] appear to be original: a very few translations from the Italian of Marino are in perfect consent with the prevailing tone of the book.' This view is no longer tenable; at least six of the sonnets of the *Flowers of Sion* are either adaptations or paraphrases from the French poet's works, mostly from the *Sonnets Spirituels*, which form part of his *Œuvres Chrestiennes.* The opening sonnet is a free adaptation of the second sonnet in Desportes' collection:

Triumphant arches, statues crown'd with bays,
Proud obelisks, tombs of the vastest frame,
Colosses, brazen Atlases of fame,
Fanes vainly builded to vain idols' praise;
States, which insatiate minds in blood do raise,
From the cross-stars unto the Arctic team,
Alas! and what we write to keep our name,
Like spiders' cauls are made the sport of days:
All only constant is in constant change,
What done is, is undone, and when undone,
Into some other figure doth it range;
Thus moves the restless world beneath the moon:
Wherefore, my mind, above time, motion, place,
Thee raise, and steps not reach'd by nature trace.

Si la course annuelle en serpent retournée
Devance un trait volant par le ciel emporté,
Si la plus longue vie est moins qu'une journée,
Une heure, une minute, envers l'éternité;
Que songes-tu, mon âme, en la terre enchaisnée?
Quel appast tient ici ton desir arresté?
Faveur, thrésors, grandeurs, ne sont que vanité,
Trompans des fols mortels la race infortunée.
Puis que l'heur souverain ailleurs se doit chercher,
Il faut de ces gluaux ton plumage arracher
Et voller dans le ciel d'une légère traicte.
Là se trouve le bien affranchi de souci,
La foy, l'amour sans feinte et la beauté parfaicte
Qu'à clos yeux, sans profit, tu vas cherchant ici.

The amplification in the enumeration of the things that are the sport of time and mark the instability of mortal glory was probably suggested by an Italian sonnet of Castiglione:

Superbi colli, e voi sacre ruine,
Che 'l nome sol di Roma ancor tenete,
Ahi che reliquie miserande avete
Di tant' anime eccelse e pellegrine!
Colossi archi teatri opre divine
Trionfal pompe gloriose e liete,
In poco cener pur converse siete,
E fatte al vulgo vil favola al fine etc.

The sonnet entitled *No Trust in Time* is again an adaptation from Desportes (*Œuvres*, p. 507):

Look how the flower which ling'ringly doth fade,

La vie est une fleur espineuse et poignante,

The morning's darling late, the summer's queen,
Spoil'd of that juice which kept it fresh and green,
As high as it did raise, bows low the head:
Right so my life, contentments being dead,
Or in their contraries but only seen,
With swifter speed declines than erst it spread,
And, blasted, scarce now shows what it hath been.
As doth the pilgrim therefore, whom the night
By darkness would imprison on his way,
Think on thy home, my soul, and think aright
Of what yet rests thee of life's wasting day:
  Thy sun posts westward, passed is thy morn,
  And twice it is not given thee to be born.

Belle au lever du jour, seiche en son occident;
C'est moins que de la neige en l'esté plus ardent,
C'est une nef rompue au fort de la tourmente.
  L'heur du monde n'est rien qu'une roue inconstante,
D'un labeur éternel montant et descendant;
Honneur, plaisir, profict, les esprits desbordant,
Tout est vent, songe et nue et folie évidente.
  Las! c'est dont je me plains, moy qui voy commencer
Ma teste à se mesler, et mes jours se passer,
Dont j'ay mis les plus beaux en ces vaines fumées;
  Et le fruict que je cueille, en que je voy sortir
Des heures de ma vie, hélas! si mal semées,
C'est honte, ennuy, regret, dommage et repentir.

Another of Desportes—the third of the *Sonnets Spirituels*—afforded the substance for the following sonnet of the *Flowers of Sion*:

Too long I followed have on fond desire,
And too long panted on deluding streams,
Too long refreshment sought in burning fire,
Run after joys which to my soul were blames.
Ah! when I had what most I did admire,
And prov'd of life's delights the last extremes,
I found all but a rose hedg'd with a briar,
A nought, a thought, a show of golden dreams.
Henceforth on thee, mine only good, I think,
For only thou canst grant what I do crave;
Thy nails my pens shall be, thy blood mine ink,
Thy winding sheet my paper, study grave;
  And till that soul from body parted be,
  No hope I have, but only only thee.

  Puis que le miel d'amour, si comblé d'amertume,
N'altère plus mon cœur comme il fit autrefois;
Puis que du monde faux je mesprise les lois,
Monstrons qu'un feu plus saint maintenant nous allume.
  Seigneur, d'un de tes cloux je veux faire ma plume,
Mon encre de ton sang, mon papier de ta croix,
Mon subject de ta gloire, et les chants de ma voix
De ta mort, qui la mort éternelle consume.
  Le feu de ton amour, dans mon âme eslancé,
Soit la sainte fureur dont je seray poussé,
Et non d'un Apollon l'ombrageuse folie.

  Cet amour par la foy mon esprit ravira,
Et, s'il te plaist, Seigneur, au ciel l'élevera
Tout vif, comme sainct Paul ou le prophete Élie.

The sonnet *Amazement at the Incarnation of God* is translated from the seventh sonnet of Desportes' *Sonnets Spirituels* (*Œuvres*, p. 504), which the French poet himself had imitated from the Italian of Francesco Coppetta de' Beccuti (*Locar sovra gl' abissi i fondamenti*). It might be supposed at first sight that the Scottish poet's model was also Coppetta, but a glance at the three compositions shows at once that he was not following the Italian prototype:

To spread the azure canopy of heaven,	Sur des abysmes creux les fondemens poser
And make it twinkle with those spangs of gold,	De la terre pesante, immobile et féconde,
To stay this weighty mass of earth so even,	Semer d'astres le ciel, d'un mot créer le monde,
That it should all, and nought should it uphold;	La mer, les vens, la foudre à son gré maistriser,
To give strange motions to the planets seven,	De contrarietez tant d'accords composer,
Or Jove to make so meek, or Mars so bold,	La matière difforme orner de forme ronde,
To temper what is moist, dry, hot and cold,	Et par ta prévoyance, en merveilles profonde,
Of all their jars that sweet accords are given,	Voir tout, conduire tout, et de tout disposer,
Lord, to thy wisdom nought is, nor thy might;	Seigneur, c'est peu de chose à ta majesté haute;
But that thou shouldst, thy glory laid aside,	Mais que toy, créateur, il t'ait pleu pour la faute
Come meanly in mortality to bide,	De ceux qui t'offensoyent en croix estre pendu,
And die for those deserved eternal plight,	Jusqu'à si haut secret mon vol ne peut s'estendre;
A wonder is so far above our wit,	Les anges ny le ciel ne le sçauroyent comprendre;
That angels stand amaz'd to muse on it.	Apprens-le-nous, Seigneur, qui l'as seul entendu!

Another imitation from Desportes is the sonnet *For the Magdalene*; it renders with certain modifications the fifteenth sonnet of the *Sonnets Spirituels*:

These eyes, dear Lord, once brandons of desire,	De foy, d'espoir, d'amour et de douleur comblée,
Frail scouts betraying what they had to keep,	Celle que les pécheurs doivent tous imiter,
Which their own heart, then others set on fire,	O Seigneur! vint ce jour à tes piés se jetter,
Their trait'rous black before thee here out-weep:	Peu craignant le mespris de toute une assemblée.
These locks, of blushing deeds the fair attire,	Ses yeux, sources de feu, d'où l'Amour à l'emblée
Smooth-frizzled waves, sad shelves which shadow deep,	Souloit dedans les cœurs tant de traits blueter,
Soul-stinging serpents in gilt curls which creep,	Changez en source d'eau, ne font que dégouter

To touch thy sacred feet do now aspire.
In seas of care behold a sinking bark,
By winds of sharp remorse unto thee driven,
O! let me not expos'd be ruin's mark;
My faults confest, Lord, say they are forgiven.
Thus sigh'd to Jesus the Bethanian fair,
His tear-wet feet still drying with her hair.

L'amertume et l'ennuy de son âme troublée.
De ses pleurs, ô Seigneur! tes piés elle arrosa,
Les parfuma d'odeurs, les seicha, les baisa,
De sa nouvelle amour monstrant la véhémence.
O bien-heureuse femme! ô Dieu tousjours clément!
O pleur! ô cœur heureux! qui n'eut pas seulement
Pardon de son erreur, mais en eut récompense.

In another of the *Flowers of Sion* Drummond adapted one of Desportes' love-poems—No. LXXIII of *Les Amours d'Hippolyte*—to the service of religion. The paraphrase, at the beginning, is a very close one:

As when it happ'neth that some lovely town
Unto a barbarous besieger falls,
Who there by sword and flame himself instals,
And, cruel, it in tears and blood doth drown;
Her beauty spoil'd, her citizens made thralls,
His spite yet so cannot her all throw down,
But that some statue, arch, fane of renown
Yet lurks unmaim'd within her weeping walls:
So, after all the spoil, disgrace, and wrack,
That time, the world, and death could bring combin'd,
Amidst that mass of ruins they did make,
Safe and all scarless yet remains my mind:
From this so high transcending rapture springs,
That I, all else defac'd, not envy kings.

Comme quand il advient qu'une place est forcée
Par un cruel assaut du soldat furieux,
Tout est mis au pillage, on voit en mille lieux
Feux sur feux allumez, mort sur mort amassée.
Mais si ne peut sa gloire estre tant rabaissée,
Qu'un arc, une colonne, un portail glorieux
N'eschappent la fureur du feu victorieux,
Et ne restent entiers quand la flamme est passée.
Ainsi durant les maux que j'ay tant supportez,
A la honte d'Amour et de vos cruautez,
Depuis que par vos yeux mon âme est retenuë;
En dépit du malheur contre moy conjuré
Mon cœur inviolable est toujours demeuré,
Et ma foy jusqu'icy ferme s'est maintenuë.

To the above loans levied on Desportes by Drummond may be added yet one more from the *Posthumous Poems*; the fourth sonnet of those addressed to Galatea is likewise a paraphrase from the French of the author of *Diane* (*Œuvres*, p. 25):

If it be love to wake out all the night,
And watchful eyes drive out in dewy moans,

Si c'est aimer que porter bas la vue,
Que parler bas, que soupirer souvant,

And when the sun brings to the world his light,
To waste the day in tears and bitter groans;
If it be love to dim weak reason's beam
With clouds of strange desire, and make the mind
In hellish agonies a heav'n to dream,
Still seeking comforts where but griefs we find;
If it be love to stain with wanton thought
A spotless chastity, and make it try
More furious flames than his whose cunning wrought
That brazen bull where he entomb'd did fry;
  Then sure is love the causer of such woes,
  Be ye our lovers, or our mortal foes?

Que s'égarer solitaire en rêvant,
Brûlé d'un feu qui point ne diminue;
  Si c'est aimer que de peindre en la nue,
Semer sur l'eau, jetter ses cris au vant,
Chercher la nuict par le soleil levant,
Et le soleil quant la nuict est venue;
  Si c'est aimer que de ne s'aimer pas,
Haïr sa vie, embrasser son trespas,
Tous les amours sont campez en mon ame;
  Mais nonobstant, si me puis-je louer
Qu'il n'est prison, ny torture, ny flame,
Qui mes désirs me sçeust fair avouer.

In spite of his acquaintance with the works of the other French poets of the second half of the sixteenth century, Drummond does not appear to have been directly influenced by them. In the *Miscellanies* there is a piece bearing the title *Phyllis, on the Death of her Sparrow.* A poem with the same title, but bearing no direct resemblance to it, occurs in the *Jeux Rustiques* of Du Bellay of which the Scottish poet is known to have possessed a copy. Thus we may legitimately conjecture that he got the idea from the French poet, though he may of course have had in mind Catullus rather than Du Bellay.

Drummond of Hawthornden was not the only Scottish poet of the time who borrowed from the French poets. His friend and contemporary William Alexander of Menstrie, later Earl of Stirling, though to a lesser degree, is likewise indebted to foreign models. He had travelled extensively on the continent in his youth as tutor to the Earl of Argyle, and was well acquainted with foreign literatures. In 1604 he published, under the title of *Aurora,* a series of sonnets, madrigals, sestinas and elegies to a lady whom he had loved and lost. Although Alexander's sonnets are obviously merely a Petrarchan mosaic, he mingles his colours and materials so cunningly that it is always difficult to trace them back to their original source. He appears to have acted on a deliberate plan in order to escape detection, yet anyone who is at all well acquainted with the Italian and French Petrarchists, can see at once that the sonnets of *Aurora* are only patchwork made up of conceits culled here and there from the Italian and French poets, and skilfully put together. In spite of the precautions taken by Alexander, I think

I have succeeded in detecting a certain number of more or less direct imitations from Ronsard and Du Bellay.

Sonnet III of *Aurora* is clearly suggested by No. LXXIV of *l'Olive*:

That subtill Greeke who for t' aduance his art,	Si le pinceau pouuoit montrer aux yeulx
Shap'd beautie's goddesse with so sweet a grace,	Ce que le ciel, les Dieux, et la Nature
And with a learned pensill limn'd her face;	Ont peint en vous, plus viuante peinture
Till all the world admir'd the workman's part.	Ne virent onq'de Grece les ayeulx.
Of such whom Fame did most accomplish'd call	Toy donq'amant, dont l'œil trop curieux
The naked snowes he seuerally perceiued,	Prent seulement des beautez nouriture,
Then drew th' idœa which his soul conceiued,	Fiche ta veüe en cete portraiture,
Of that which was most exquisite in all:	Dont la beauté plairoit aux plus beaux Dieux.
But had thy forme his fancie first possest,	Mais si la viue et immortelle image
If worldly knowledge could so high attaine,	Ne te deplait, seule qui le dommage
Thou mightst haue spar'd the curious painter's paine,	De maladie, ou du temps ne doit craindre:
And satisfide him more then all the rest.	Voy ses ecriz, oy son diuin sçauoir,
O if he had all thy perfections noted,	Qui mieulx au vif l'esprit te fera voir,
The painter with his picture straight had doted.	Que le visage Appelle n'eust sçeu peindre.

Sonnet XXXV is a free paraphrase of No. XXVIII of the same French collection:

When I behold that face for which I pin'd,	Ce que ie sen', la langue ne refuse
And did my selfe so long in vaine annoy,	Vous decouurir, quand suis de vous absent,
My toung not able to vnfold my ioy,	Mais tout soudain que près de moy vous sent,
A wond'ring silence onely showes my mind:	Elle deuient et muette et confuse.
But when againe thou dost extend thy rigour,	Ainsi, l'espoir me promect, et m'abuse:
And wilt not daigne to grace me with thy sight,	Moins pres ie suis, quand plus ie suis présent:
Thou kil'st my comfort, and so spoil'st my might,	Ce qui me nuist, c'est ce qui m'est plaisent:
That scarce my corps retaines the vitall vigour.	Ie quier' cela, que trouuer ie recuse.
Thy presence thus a great contentment brings,	Ioyeux la nuit, le iour triste ie suis:
And is my soules inestimable treasure:	I'ay en dormant ce qu'en veillant poursuis:

But ô, I drowne in th' ocean of displeasure,
When I in absence thinke vpon those things.
Thus would to God that I had seene thee neuer,
Or would to God that I might see thee euer.

Mon bien est faulx, mon mal est véritable.
D'vne me plain', et deffault n'est en elle:
Fay' donc q'Amour, pour m'estre charitable,
Breue ma vie, ou ma nuit éternelle.

The next sonnet of *Aurora* (No. XXXVI) affords an interesting clue. Not only is the substance manifestly taken from the third sonnet of *l'Olive*, but Alexander commits the indiscretion of apostrophising by name the French poet's native river! By omitting to change the name he gives his whole case away:

Loyr! witnesse thou what was my spotlesse part,
Whil'st thou amaz'd to see thy Nymphes so faire,
As loth to part thence where they did repaire,
Still murm'ring did thy plaints t' each stone impart:
Then did mine eyes betake them to my hart,
As scorning to behold all those, though rare,
And gaz'd vpon her beauties image there,
Whose eyes haue furnish'd Cupid many a dart:
And as deuoted only vnto her,
They did disdaine for to bestow their light,
For to be entertain'd with any sight,
Saue onely that which made them first to erre.
Then, famous riuer, through the ocean glide,
And tell my loue how constant I abide.

Loyre fameux, qui ta petite source
Enfles de maintz gros fleuues et ruysseaux,
Et qui de loing coules tes cleres eaux
En l'Océan d'vne assez viue course:
Ton chef royal hardiment bien hault pousse,
Et apparoy entre tous les plus beaux,
Comme vn thaureau sur les menuz troupeaux,
Quoy que le Pau enuieux s'en courrousse,
Commande doncq'aux gentiles Naiades
Sortir dehors leurs beaux palais humides
Auecques toy leur fleuue paternel,
Pour saluer de ioyeuses aubades
Celle qui t'a, et tes filles liquides,
Déifié de ce bruyt éternel.

Other sonnets of *Aurora* betray a careful study of Ronsard's *Amours*. No. XVII ('I saw six gallant nymphs, I saw but one') is a reflex of 'Je vey ma nymphe entre cent damoiselles'—No. CXIII of *Amours* I. No. XXV ('Cleare mouing cristall, pure as the Sunne beames') is a loose rendering of No. LXXV ('Je parangonne à vos yeux ce crystal') of the French sonnet-cycle. The opening lines of Sonnet XLIII are also borrowed from Ronsard (*Amours*, No. XVI). The same applies to Sonnets XCIV and XCIX which present a paraphrase of the opening lines of Sonnet XII of *Amours* II and of Sonnet CLI of *Amours* I respectively. Sonnet LXVIII ('I hope, I feare, resolv'd, and yet I doubt'), judging by the phraseology, is founded on Ronsard's 'J'espère et crain, je me tais et supplie' (*Amours* XII), and not directly on Petrarch's 'Pace non trovo, e non ho da far guerra.'

From Desportes, Alexander does not seem to have borrowed much; Sonnet LXXXV ('Some yet not borne surveying lines of mine') and Sonnet CII ('When as that lovely tent of beautie dies') read like reminiscences of Sonnet LXII of the *Amours de Cleonice* ('Je verray par les ans, vengeurs de mon martire'), and of the famous sonnet of Ronsard to Hélène de Surgères ('Quand vous serez bien vieille, au soir, à la chandelle'). In Sonnet LI there can be little doubt that we have a paraphrase of some stanzas in *Diane* (*Œuvres*, p. 83), entitled *Songe*:

I dream'd, the nymph that ore my fancie raignes,
Came to a part whereas I paus'd alone;
Then said, 'What needs you in such sort to mone?
Haue I not power to recompense your paines?
Lo, I coniure you by that loyall loue,
Which you professe, to cast those griefes apart,
It 's long, deare loue, since that you had my hart,
Yet I was coy your constancie to proue,
But hauing had a proofe, I'le now be free:
I am the eccho that your sighes resounds,
Your woes are mine, I suffer in your wounds,
Your passions all they sympathize in me':
Thus whilst for kindnesse both began to weepe,
My happinesse euanish'd with the sleepe.

Celle que j'aime tant, lasse d'estre cruelle,
Est venuë en songeant la nuict me consoler:
Ses yeux estoient rians, doux estoit son parler
Et mille et mille amours voloient à l'entour d'elle.
Pressé de ma douleur, j'ay pris la hardiesse
De me plaindre à hauts cris de son cœur endurcy,
Et d'un œil larmoyant luy demander mercy,
Et que mort ou pitié mist fin à ma tristesse.
Ouvrant ce beau coral qui les baisers attire,
Me dist ce doux propos: Cesse de soupirer,
Et de tes yeux meurtris tant de larmes tirer,
Celle qui t'a blessé peut guarir ton martire.
O douce illusion! ô plaisante merveille!
Mais combien peu durable est l'heur d'un amoureux.
Voulant baiser ses yeux, hélas! moy malheureux!
Peu à peu doucement je sens que je m'éveille, etc.

For the sake of completeness, it may be recalled that seven of Alexander Montgomerie's sonnets have been proved to be almost literal translations from the *Amours* of Ronsard. The credit of this interesting discovery belongs to O. Hoffmann (*Englische Studien*, XX).

To these Scottish sonneteers, as well as to more than one of their English brethren, may be applied, not inaptly, now that the day of reckoning has come, the following lines from the fifteenth sonnet of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*:

> You that do dictionary's method bring
> Into your rhymes running in rattling rows;
> You that poor Petrarch's long deceasèd woes,
> With newborn sighs and denizened wit do sing:
> You take wrong ways! Those far-fet helps be such
> As do bewray a want of inward touch;
> And sure at length, stolen goods do come to light.

Although the perfection and beauty of the sonnets of Drummond—by far the greatest of the poets concerned—are unquestionable, even he can lay no claim to originality in that poetic form. He is impregnated with Italian sentiment and Petrarchan conceits; there is hardly an idea or simile in his sonnets that could not be paralleled in Petrarch or in his Italian and French disciples. The same is true of the sonnets of William Alexander and of those of Montgomerie, neither of whom approach Drummond in poetic expression. In whatever way we look at the matter, the methods of these Scottish poets do betray a 'want of inward touch,' and must in future affect considerably the estimate of their poetic talent.

L. E. KASTNER.

MILTON'S HEROIC LINE VIEWED FROM AN HISTORICAL STANDPOINT.

V.[1]

SEVERAL critics dealing with the subject of English versification, and especially T. Newton, T. Sheridan, and Sir S. Egerton Brydges[2], have maintained that Milton practically obeyed no rule in his verse. This, of course, as a preliminary step in the discussion, calls for a definition of metrical regularity. Contemporary metrists would now have the blank heroic line consist of five iambuses, the first of which, as in the corresponding rhymed measure, may be replaced by a trochee or a spondee[3]. In that case the most important element of the metre is the five stresses separated by unaccented syllables from each other, whereas Milton, as a matter of fact, admits several accents in succession and lines having more than five stresses. We must therefore examine whether the present theory of heroic verse tallies with that of the older poets and of Milton himself.

It will be well to remember the demonstration given by M. J. Motheré of the French origin of the early English heroic line[4], and to take into account the rules of the French decasyllable which we expounded in our first section. In that old mediaeval metre the poet was only bound to consider the number of syllables and the fixed position of the caesura. If, indeed, in France, and still more in England, we notice an iambic or rising rhythm in this measure—since, as we pointed out before, there is a tendency to accent every other syllable in the line—this has merely followed as a matter of course from the nature of the language and not in consequence of any fundamental law of versification. So much is evident from the very fact that all early English metrists, like George Gascoigne in his *Certayne notes of Instruction concerning the Making of Verse* (1575), William Webbe in his *Discourse on English Poetrie*, and even Sir Philip Sidney (though he gives it but a passing mention) in his *Apologie for Poetrie* published in 1595[1] insist on the counting of syllables as the main principle of the heroic verse[2]. Shakespeare, too, in *As you Like it*, Act IV, sc. i, ll. 31, 32, when Orlando enters with 'Good day and happiness, dear Rosalind!' lets Jaques exclaim 'Nay, then God be wi' you, an you talk in blank verse,' thus giving us his conception of that metre as a regular decasyllable[3]; and some 130 years later Pope sets up the same standard when, speaking of an accumulation of monosyllables, he says in his *Essay on Criticism*, l. 347: 'And *ten* low words oft creep in one dull line.'

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[1] Continued from vol. II, p. 315.

[2] Cf. Sir S. E. Brydges, *The Poetical Works of J. Milton*, London, pp. 454, etc. 'I believe that Milton's principle was to introduce into his line every variety of metrical foot which is to be found in the Latin poetry, especially in the lyrics of Horace.'

[3] Thus A. Spiers in his *Treatise on English Versification*, Paris, 1874, p. 34, says: 'Iambics of 5 feet, called the Heroic measure, form the principal metre in the language,' and Dr J. Angus in his *Handbook of the English Tongue*, London, p. 350: 'This verse (the iambic of five feet) is the heroic measure of English metre....It constitutes without rhyme our blank verse....'

[4] See J. Motheré, *Les Théories du Vers héroïque anglais*, etc. Paris, 1886.

With regard to Milton's verse we have a reliable witness to his opinion in the preface he added on the subject to his *Paradise Lost* where he chiefly draws attention to two elements of the measure, one fixed, the number of syllables, the other variable, the shifting caesuras[4]. A mere reference to lines of his (*e.g. P. L.*, II, 621; III, 715; VIII, 527) containing more than five stresses will suffice to prove how little he heeded only accents in his verse. But, on the other hand, all these instances present neither more nor less than ten syllables, and we can range through both epics without finding in this respect any departure from the traditional rules of the measure.

In fact, both in *Paradise Lost* and in *Paradise Regained* there is no instance of any line falling short of or exceeding the prescribed syllabic bounds. We do not discover a single case of a missing syllable, such as now and then occurs in Shakespeare[1]. Some critics, indeed, think Milton has allowed a few lines of more than eleven syllables, that is, has mixed a few alexandrines with his other verse, as Dryden did a little later. Thus Mr J. A. Symonds[2] quotes *P. R.*, III, 256: 'The one winding, the other straight, and left between,' where the original edition reads 'Th' one' and 'th' other' making the line into a regular decasyllable. Other cases too have been mentioned, such as: 'Imbued, bring to their sweetness no satiety' (*P. L.*, VIII, 216), 'For solitude sometimes is best society' (*P. L.*, IX, 249), 'Such solitude before choicest society' (*P. R.*, I, 302), 'Irresolute, unhardy, unadventurous' (*P. R.*, III, 243); but it is easy to see that by reading simply *sati(e)ty, soci(e)ty, irres(o)lute,* and *unadvent(u)rous* we reduce them without the slightest difficulty, and in accordance with many a precedent, to the common type. These are extreme and isolated examples. But take twenty lines at haphazard, say at the beginning of the eleventh book of *Paradise Lost,* and all are found to comply with the syllabic principle, if we agree to pronounce after the standard of the poet's time *lowli'st, regen'rate, Spir't,* and *th' ancient.* Again a verse like *P. L.*, IV, 531: 'Some wandering Spirit of Heaven by fountain-side,' in which some detect as many as 13 syllables, is readily proved a decasyllable[3] when the proper contractions are made. The same applies, of course, to such lines as *P. L.*, I, 733; II, 851, where obvious shortenings restore the regularity of the metre. By allowing for the different stress on *brígads* in the seventeenth century we even read *P. L.*, II, 532: 'With rapid wheels, or fronted brígads form,' as a normal heroic line, instead of ending it with an accentual spondee, and a rational observance of the pronunciation of the past will similarly vindicate Milton's claim to metrical correctness.

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[1] See a reprint of this work, Cambridge, 1891, p. 60: 'Of versifying there are two sorts, the one Auncient, the other Moderne, the Auncient marked the quantitie of each sillable, and according to that framed his verse; the Moderne, observing onely number (with some regard of the accent).'

[2] Cf. J. Motheré, *op cit.*, pp. 14—15. This alone suffices to show what a mistake it is to say with Mr Bridges (*Milton's Prosody*, etc., 1894, p. 71): 'the syllabic liberty, so far from being new, is found in English verse from the earliest times,' and how doubtful appears his assertion (p. 63) that 'Shakespeare, whose early verse may be described as syllabic, gradually came to write a verse dependent on stress.'

[3] Puttenham also in 1589 declares that 'the Meetar of tenne sillables is very stately and heroicall...thus, "I serve at ease and govern all with woe."'

[4] Mr Bridges admits as much (*op. cit.*, p. 69) when he writes with reference to Coleridge's *Christabel*: 'We cannot count by stresses any more than we can in Milton's blank verse,' and on p. 68, 'In Milton's verse the chief metrical rule is the number of syllables.'

Indeed, it is a remarkable fact that the epic poet discards many so-called licences familiar to his predecessors. Perhaps the best known of these is the extra syllable before the caesura allowed in early French heroics, though not counted in the measure. This Milton made use of in a dramatic work like his *Comus, e.g.*, 'And crumble all thy sin(ews). Why, prithee, Shepherd—' (l. 615), 'Root-bound, that fled Apol(lo). Fool, do not boast' (l. 662). But in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* Milton is very sparing of it, and in almost every case where it has been assumed, it can be explained away by some contraction or some elision, as in *P. L.*, I, 202: 'Created hug*est* (or perhaps hug'st) that swim the ocean stream,' or in *P. L.*, VIII, 316: 'Submiss he reared *me,* and (or perhaps me'nd) Whom thou sought'st I am.' It would seem as if the poet, in accordance with the Italian practice which had proscribed the epic caesura, hardly cared to admit any in his own verse. Such cases as *P. L.*, VII, 385; VIII, 316, 591; XI, 297, 336, 772; *P. R.*, III, 107, 125, 238, 340 are at best dubious. Very few indeed like: 'Thy condescen(sion), and shall be honoured ever' (*P. L.*, VIII, 649), or 'But why should man seek glo(ry), who of his own' (*P. R.*, III, 134), are certain, and still rarer is an instance such as *P. L.*, IV, 345: 'Gambolled before (them), th'unwieldy elephant,' where the extra syllable forms a separate word, and wherever the author does use this licence, he is careful to make it as little conspicuous as possible by means of an important break in the sentence which draws off our attention. Milton may thus be said to have practically given up a metrical liberty of which the playwrights, and Shakespeare[1] among them, had often availed themselves.

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[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 411–20.

[2] See *Fortnightly Review*, July—Dec. 1874, pp. 771 and 774.

[3] That this was still the recognised scheme of the line as late as Dr Johnson's time is obvious from the latter's remark at the close of his *Life of Cowley*: 'Cowley was, I believe, the first poet that mingled Alexandrines at pleasure with *the common heroic of ten syllables*.'

The same remark applies, though in a less degree, to the feminine ending of the line so frequent in the Elizabethan writers. If, indeed, we contract at the close of the decasyllable words which Milton elsewhere uses contracted, the number of these, especially in the first books of *Paradise Lost,* would dwindle down to a very small figure. Thus out of 798 lines in Book I, only six (*P. L.*, I, 38, 102, 157, 174, 606, 753) are certainly, and one (l. 166) possibly, hypermetrical; in Book III, out of 742 lines, only three (*P. L.,* III, 203, 290, 306), with one (l. 576) doubtful instance. The later books and *Paradise Regained* contain a larger proportion, but fewer by far than *Comus,* where one line in every twelve has a feminine ending, or than the Elizabethan plays. The tenth book of *Paradise Lost* has as many as 47 in 1104 lines, among which are those (*P. L.*, X, 781, 871, 927) closing with an unaccented monosyllable. The twelfth book has eight certain hypercatalectic lines (*P. L.*, XII, 65, 114, 219, 247, 251, 255, 408, 518) and one doubtful instance (*P. L.*, XII, 85) out of a total of 649, whereas in *Paradise Regained* the first book, out of 502 lines, contains 14 with a feminine ending, one of which (*P. R.*, I, 483) closes with a monosyllabic word, and the third book, out of 443, has 23 with a feminine ending, two of which endings (*P. R.*, III, 372, 440) are unaccented monosyllables.

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[1] See Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and his later dramas.

On the other hand, Milton did not write a single epic line closing with two unstressed syllables after the regular accent on the tenth. In the only instance of the kind quoted by Professor Schipper, *P. R.*, III, 82: 'Great Benefactors of mankind, Deliverers,' the last word must be contracted into *Deliv'rers*[1] as it is in similar cases (*e.g.*, *P. R.*, I, 302; *P. L.*, VIII, 216; IX, 249 and see above). Nor does the poet here revert to a practice he adopted in his *Comus* and probably copied from Fletcher, that of giving the extra syllable a kind of secondary stress, which has a retarding effect on the verse, as in: 'Come not too near; you fall on iron stákes èlse' (*Com.*, l. 491), 'Bore a bright golden flower, but not in thís sòil' (*Com.*, l. 633). Thus Milton, when he wrote *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, eschewed the metrical freedom prevalent in the earlier drama and even gave up some small irregularities of his own in order to preserve the strict type of heroic line which he found alone suited to an epic poem.

We see now what a mistake it is to fancy he swerved from the regular standard of the decasyllable in his later works. The mistake, however, is probably due to the fact that some readers fail to notice the elisions intended by the author. Milton, adopting the well-known Italian practice, frequently elides final vowels. This he does so felicitously that it marks him out among English poets and gives fresh suppleness to his metre. Thus he often cuts off a *the* before the opening syllable of the next word or perhaps rather, as they do in Italy, merges it into the following vowel so as to make but one syllable of the two. To this Professor Masson occasionally demurs[2], but it stands confirmed by the typographical custom of the seventeenth century, by the use of contemporary poets like John Dryden and by the consensus of almost all competent judges who have studied the subject[3]. Yet Milton follows his Italian models in seldom allowing an elision except between unaccented vowels. He prefers a hiatus to a harsh blending of open sounds. Thus in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost* in 640 lines we notice only 13 cases (*P. L.*, VII, 76, 186, 309, 335, 390, 398, 418, 421, 451–52, 533–34, 541) where *the* happens to be elided before a stressed vowel. As for *to*, so frequently elided in the dramatists, Milton does not favour its elision. Thus in the first book of *Paradise Lost* it gives rise to a hiatus nine times (*P. L.*, I, 49, 67, 81, 122, 155, 373, 505, 608, 719) in 798 lines, while it is only thrice elided (*P. L.*, I, 523–24, 749)[1] and not even once in the third book. Milton scarcely ever allows the elision of *to* before an accented vowel and in both poems we have only come across four instances of the kind (*P. L.*, V, 576; VI, 814; X, 594; *P. R.*, II, 82). Once more we may notice with what care the poet avoids fusing stressed syllables and thus eschews all harshness in his versification.

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[1] Notice the contracted use of the word in *P. L.*, VI, 451; XII, 149, 479.

[2] See D. Masson, *The Poetical Works of J. Milton*, 1893, vol. III, pp. 214–15.

[3] See Wm Cowper's letter to Unwin, Oct. 31st, 1779: 'The practice of cutting short a *the* is warranted by Milton, who, of all English poets that ever lived, had certainly the finest ear.' For instance in earlier poets, cf. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 344–45, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II, p. 104.

But cases also occur where vowels, both in print and in the actual pronunciation, cannot be merely cut off and where the merging of two vowels just suggested above, is the only possible solution to be arrived at. This is what happens with words ending in *-y*, which letter blends into one syllable with the following vowel. Of course, a good many modern critics, and Professor Masson among them[2], maintain the contrary and detect trisyllabic variations in such lines. But we cannot accept their views when we consider that the instances of vowels merging into each other (even independently of the *-y* endings) are so numerous as to be obviously not irregularities but normal examples of the decasyllabic type, that such a blending is actually preserved in popular speech which is closer to the poet's pronunciation than the deliberate articulation of the higher classes to-day, and that Milton, whose ear was confessedly most delicate, would not have been likely to perpetrate such ugly hiatuses as Professor Masson credits him with in *P. L.*, III, 402[3], 405; VI, 499; VIII, 616. Here again it is mostly unstressed vowels that blend[4]. In a small number of cases one of these is accented (*e.g. P. L.*, III, 728; VII, 446; IX, 494). It may be so in *P. L.*, VI, 632 and XI, 767, though in the latter instance we may read *burd'n* for *burden*, and in the former an extra syllable before the caesura is by no means an impossibility.

Should the question arise what becomes of the final *-y*, whether it is cut off or merged, we fancy the latter solution is the correct one. Milton, as we know, was a close student of Italian literature and would be very likely to imitate his foreign models in this respect; and, besides, no elision is hinted at with regard to the above quotations in the early editions, and the fusion of the vowels, as we observed before, actually takes place (*e.g.*, in *Many⁀a*) in common speech. The same explanation extends to other vowel endings such as *-ow* in *P. L.*, I, 558: 'Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow⁀and pain' (cf. also *P. L.*, II, 518; V, 575; X, 717; XI, 757; XII, 613; *P. R.*, I, 140), the *-w* being treated like a vowel, as in the instance from *Lycidas*, l. 80, which we mentioned in section IV of this paper (*th' world* put for *the world*)[1], and as in Chaucer's poems where, however, *-we*, which stands for the present *-ow*, can, of course, be quite easily elided before a vowel. Such elisions are more frequent in Milton than in contemporary writers, and here again, as we noticed in the case of *the* and *to*, they seldom take place before a stressed syllable[2].

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[1] Possibly in these three cases it is not *to* that is elided, but the following vowel may be cut off, e.g. *to've*. Very rarely is *to* elided before the indefinite article as in *P. L.*, V, 360. Milton prefers the hiatus in *P. R.*, III, 152.

[2] See Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 220, instances 13, 19, 20.

[3] 'So strictly, but much more to pity incline.'

[4] For this reason in *P.R.*, III, 117: 'Glory he requires, and glory he receives,' we prefer to assume the merging of the vowels between the first two words.

One of the most frequent instances of elision occurs with the ending *-ble* or *-le*, still sounded in the seventeenth century as at the present day in French, *e.g.* in *P. L.*, I, 402: 'His temple right against the templ' of God,' or in *P. L.*, II, 626: 'Abominabl', unutterabl', and worse' (and cf. *P. L.*, IV, 596; VIII, 135; XI, 306), though in a few places (as in *P. L.*, IV, 843; *P. R.*, I, 256; IV, 573) the line may be scanned rightly by allowing an extra syllable before the caesura. But Milton never follows the practice of many Elizabethan dramatists of cutting short *-le* before a consonant (*e.g.* making a disyllable of 'gen*tle*men')[3]. Other endings simply melt into the next vowel, as *-so* in *P. L.*, V, 628: 'For we have also⁀our evening and our morn' (and cf. *P. L.* IX, 1082; X, 203; XII, 611), or *-ue* in *P. L.*, VII, 236: 'And vital virtue⁀infused and vital warmth' (and cf. *P. L.*, IV, 848; VI, 703 and perhaps X, 372), or *thee*[4] in *P. L.*, III, 3: 'May I express thee⁀unblamed? since God is light.'

The question may also be raised whether the poet does not occasionally admit aphaeresis or the cutting off of a vowel at the beginning of a word. This we recognise in cases where popular language still preserves the right to do so, and where it is necessary to make the sense of a line intelligible. Thus Professor Masson, referring to *P. R.*, II, 234: 'I shall let pass No advantage, and his strength as oft assay,' scoffs at the idea of reading *nadvantage*[5], as if that were the suggestion of those who find the above decasyllable perfectly regular, while they only contend for the very common combination *no'dvantage*[6]. Still, if we leave aside instances that can be explained by the more usual elisions (*e.g.* *P. L.*, I, 470; IX, 110; *P. R.*, III, 120) or blending of vowels, aphaeresis is by no means frequent in the two epics and does not occur more than some twenty times altogether. As a rule, we find it in such familiar forms as *be't* (*P. L.*, IV, 758; X, 795) *thou'st* (*P. L.*, X, 198; XI, 347; *P. R.*, III, 390), *I've* (*P. R.*, II, 245); perhaps we may add *to've* in *P. L.*, I, 749, and *I'gainst* in *P. L.*, IX, 931. The other examples we meet with are chiefly aphaeresis after a pronoun (as in *P. L.*, V, 107 and in IX, 152): 'He (e)ffected; Man he made, and for him built' (or again in *P. L.*, X, 149, 567, 758, 766; *P. R.*, II, 245), and after the verb *to be* (*e.g.* *P. L.*, IX, 570, 746; XI, 689). Lastly we have another instance of it after *no* in *P. L.*, V, 407, one after *my* in *P. L.*, X, 468: 'Little inferior, by my (a)dventure hard,' and one (though possibly it may be explained by a blending of vowels) after *though* in *P. L.*, IX, 296[1]. The fact itself appears to us incontrovertible, whatever some critics may say; it is vouched for by popular pronunciation to this day, by the use of earlier poets, and is alone needed to restore harmony in lines which would otherwise impress the reader as harsh and dissonant. As in the case of elision, to which it is closely related, aphaeresis mostly takes place between unaccented syllables. It is rare, too, between the same vowels (*e.g.* in *P. L.*, IV, 758; IX, 1082; X, 567), and Milton here again aims at avoiding or toning down any asperity in a concourse of sounds.

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[1] *Mod. Lang. Review*, II, p. 306. Cf. the constant use of *nas* for *ne was* in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.

[2] Yet see *P. L.*, V, 614; VIII, 135; IX, 1082.

[3] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 346–47, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II, p. 106.

[4] Cf. like instances in E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[5] See Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 222.

[6] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

More seldom still does aphaeresis occur with a word beginning by an aspirate *h*. We notice it only after pronouns, as in *P. L.*, XI, 347: 'But this preeminence thou hast (= thou'st) lost, brought down[2],' and after *to*, though *to've* is as probable as *t'have* in *P. L.*, I, 524–25, 749, and X, 594. Indeed, if we consider that Milton's contemporary Cowley always prints the elided *to* as *t'* in his *Davideis* (*e.g.* *t'enchain*, *t'have seen*, in Book I), and that Milton himself does so for *the*, it would seem as if our poet preferred cutting off the first syllable of *have*, as people still do in *we've*, and as he surely meant with *virtue'th* in *P. L.*, X, 372: 'Thine now is all this World; thy virtue hath won.' These cases are not marked in his printed text by any special sign. In some others, probably because they were already more or less obsolete, he takes care to make the abscission of a vowel perfectly clear. This he does when he contracts *to whom* into *t'whom*, as in *P. L.*, II, 746: 'T'whom thus the Portress of Hell-gate replied' (and cf. *P. L.*, II, 968; VI, 814; XI, 453), and when he means *in the* to be pronounced *i' th'* as in *P. L.*, I, 224: 'In billows, leave i' th' midst a horrid vale' (and cf. *P. L.*, XI, 432), after a fashion which was no longer so familiar to the later generation as to Englishmen of an earlier age[1]. Such instances of course tend to prove both that Milton belonged to the Elizabethan school and, by reason of their extreme rarity so far as his epic poems are concerned, that he arrived in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* at the utmost metrical regularity.

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[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 344, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 104.

[2] So the line stands in the original edition.

Indeed, if all this is duly taken into account, his epic lines will always be found to have ten sounded syllables counted in the measure. Whenever some of these lines appear rather longer, it is because they have an extra syllable (left out of the metre) before the caesura or after the last accent—and we know how seldom the poet allowed anything of the kind—or because an unstressed syllable is dropped by contraction, blending of vowels, elision[2] or aphaeresis. A few lines on the other hand, like *P. L.*, XI, 466: 'To whom thus Michaël—Death thou hast seen,' may seem too short, but the distinct pronunciation of two separate vowels now usually melted into a diphthong (*Micha-el*), corrects the modern reader's mistake. The latter phenomenon seldom occurs in the English language of the seventeenth century as compared with that of the twentieth, and we readily see why so many more lines in Milton strike us as exceeding the traditional limits. If, therefore, we are willing to comply with the rules of heroic verse as ascertained by the study of history and literature combined, and not merely by the simple device of counting the syllables in a line, we shall not find in either of Milton's great epics a single exception to his deliberate use of the *decasyllabic* measure. This rule, which he never once transgresses, we may now pronounce an essential (or even *the* essential) principle of his heroic verse. It will, however, receive a still clearer demonstration when we discuss the so-called trisyllabic feet which a number of critics have so confidently ascribed to, and discovered in, our poet's works. And we may note that Milton's reversion to a strict standard of versification is all the more significant and more laudable after the Elizabethan dramatists had set the example of admitting into their plays incomplete and hypercatalectic lines[1]. Through insisting on absolute correctness from the metrist's point of view, Milton added to the dignity of his epic measure and deserved well of English literature.

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[1] For this contraction cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 345, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, II, p. 114.

[2] This was fully understood by Wm Cowper, who in a letter to the Rev. Walter Bagot (Aug. 31, 1786) wrote: '...the unacquaintedness of modern ears with the divine harmony of Milton's numbers and the principles upon which he constructed them, is the cause of the quarrel that they have with elisions in blank verse....In vain should you or I tell them...that for this majesty it (*i.e.* his verse) is greatly indebted to those elisions. In their ears they are discord and dissonance; they lengthen the line beyond its due limits.'

VI.

At the present time English poets use but two kinds of metrical feet: a trisyllabic foot composed of one stressed joined to two unstressed syllables and a disyllabic foot composed of a stressed and an unstressed syllable. The question we have to consider is whether both kinds of feet are to be met with in the heroic line or one only, specially confining ourselves, of course, to Milton's practice in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*. If we go back to the traditional structure of the line, when combined with the customary five accents, we always find ten syllables and none but disyllabic feet[2]. It was, indeed, in accordance with the nature of things that a decasyllable having a fixed stress on the tenth counted syllable and another compulsory stress, sharply defined by the accompanying caesura, on the fourth or frequently on the sixth syllable, should discourage the rise of trisyllabic feet and readily divide itself into five feet of two syllables each. Hence recent metrists, remarking the pretty constant occurrence of five accents in the decasyllable, have declared it to be formed of five iambuses.

Such an accentual rule was, however, unknown to seventeenth century critics who merely emphasized the fact of the ten necessary counted syllables. In this respect no hard and fast tradition bound the poet, and Milton fully availed himself of the freedom thus granted to English writers. Had he wished to admit iambuses only into his line, nothing would have been easier, as will be seen by quite a number of instances (*e.g.* among others, *P. L.*, III, 28, 165, 205, 525; V, 140; VII, 601; X, 1080; *P. R.*, II, 66). But, apart from traditional reasons, several others prevented his adopting this method. A regular and continuous iambic rhythm (as even a slight acquaintance with Pope's works will show) proves inexpressibly tedious and could not satisfy Milton's fastidious ears. The latter, following both his English and his foreign models, was intent on varying his style and the harmony of his metre. Neither the example of the Elizabethan dramatists, nor that of Dante or of Tasso, favoured accentual monotony, and Milton resolved to walk in their steps. He would, moreover, by too strict insistence on an iambic measure, have been forced to reject convenient polysyllables or to change the accent occasionally in a tongue which puts a special emphasis on correct accentuation. Consequently, both for the sake of variety and of personal convenience, in view of apt phrasing, Milton was induced to admit diverse feet into his heroic line.

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[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 374–85.

[2] This is confirmed for early English verse by Geo. Gascoigne's statement: 'We use none other order but a foote of two sillables.' (*Notes of Instruction in English Verse*, 1575, p. 34.)

He thus very often allows a trochee instead of an iambus. But the fact that English words either have but one stress or have lesser stresses separated from each other and from the principal one by at least one unaccented syllable makes the actual spondee a very rare phenomenon, except in the case of two successive monosyllables, on each of which the voice happens to dwell for a while. This, to our mind, never occurs without a caesura between such monosyllables, and we therefore regard the accentual spondees (that is, feet formed of two successive stressed syllables) which Dr Masson quotes[1] either as ordinary iambuses or as trochees, barring these: 'Sáy, / Múse; their names then known, who first, who last' (*P. L.*, I, 376), 'Productive in hérb, / plánt and nobler birth' (*P. L.*, IX, 111), and perhaps, too: 'Háil, / Són of the Most High, heir of both Worlds' (*P. R.*, IV, 633), where there is an important break in the lines.

Of the pyrrhic, a foot composed of two successive unstressed syllables, we may say we have found no certain example in Milton's epic poems. Unless it immediately follows an iambus or precedes a trochee, it implies three successive unaccented syllables, which is contrary to the nature of the English tongue, and forms a four-stressed line which, as we shall see a little later, seems opposed to the poet's constant practice. Dr Masson[2], indeed, gives the following instances: 'Me, me only, just objĕct ŏf his ire' (*P. L.*, X, 936), and 'Surnamed Perĭpatetics, and the sect' (*P. R.*, IV, 279); but in the former case it would appear obvious to make *-ject óf* into an iambus by emphasizing *óf*, while in the latter the proper name, like many similar polysyllables, admits of a slight stress at the beginning (*Péripatétics*). Parallel quotations abound in earlier writers[3] and vouch for the accuracy of the above explanation in Milton. Anyhow—and we will investigate the matter more closely in our next section—what he most frequently allows is the substitution of a trochee for an iambus. The trochee is very common at the outset and helps to make a word stand out from the rest. The first foot is its usual place, *e.g.*, 'Thóusand celestial Ardours where he stood' (*P. L.*, V, 249), (and cf. *P. L.*, VII, 187–88; IX, 1062; XI, 166; XII, 354; *P. R.*, I, 130–31, etc. etc.). And a caesura marking, as it were, a fresh start in the line, Milton often places a trochee after it, as in *P. L.*, X, 1030, 'I have in view, cálling to mind with heed' (and cf. *P. L.*, II, 229; VI, 29; VII, 444; XII, 469; *P. R.*, I, 280, etc. etc.). In accordance with a custom equally prevalent in Italian verse[1], he prefers to put a trochee after the final or the middle break of the measure.

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[1] Cf. D. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 218, from whose instances (given on p. 216) we quote those he numbers as 7, 21 and 43.

[2] Cf. D. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 217.

[3] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 335–37.

Milton goes further and admits occasionally two separate trochees which, from their very position, do not greatly affect the iambic rhythm. We thus find in *P. L.*, IV, 601, 'Théy to their grassy couch, thése to their nests Were slunk.' The change is less marked owing to this device, and the verse appears ampler when the voice begins anew with an accent. We note very few instances of it without a caesura or a pause, and chiefly in *Paradise Regained*, *e.g.*, 'No, let them serve Their enemies who serve ídols with God' (*P. R.*, III, 432), (and cf. *P. L.*, III, 616; *P. R.*, I, 357; II, 154, 405; III, 217, 443)[2]. As a rule the poet favours separate places in the line for his two trochees, and should one of these in the first foot be followed by a caesura the second foot will contain an iambus, with but rare exceptions (such as *P. L.*, VII, 364, 518; VIII, 226, and perhaps *P. R.*, II, 426). He would therefore seem to keep them, as far as possible, divided from each other by regular feet, so as not to reverse the rising measure.

But this, although his usual practice, is not invariably adhered to. Both in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* Milton at times admits poetic licences familiar to the great Italian masters. Thus he now and again allows a double trochee to begin a line as in *P. L.*, II, 880: 'Wíth impétuous recoil and jarring sound' (and cf. *P. L.*, III, 586; V, 750, 874; VI, 34; VII, 518, 533; VIII, 299 and perhaps, 308; X, 205, 936; XI, 79, 377; *P. R.*, I, 357; II, 243; IV, 597), or to follow the caesura, as in *P. L.*, VI, 866: 'Burnt after them / tó the bóttomless pit' (and cf. *P. L.*, VI, 906; VII, 122; X, 178, 202; *P. R.*, I, 139, 361; II, 171, 180, 405, 428; III, 36; IV, 289), more instances of the latter kind occurring in *Paradise Regained* than in *Paradise Lost*. Other lines which seem equally to the point may be differently scanned (*e.g.*

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[1] Out of the first 24 lines of Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*, nine begin with a trochee.

[2] In such cases the trochee usually comes after the conventional place of the caesura, *i.e.*, after the fourth or the sixth counted syllable in the line.

P. L., III, 616; V, 117; *P. R.*, III, 200) or bear different accents (*e.g.* *P. L.*, V, 667; VIII, 226, 475; IX, 1157; XII, 164; *P. R.*, III, 217) after the fashion of seventeenth century pronunciation. This double trochee we have only met with in the first and second or in the third and fourth feet, never in the second and third[1]. The fifth foot of Milton's heroic verse, with the sole exception of *P. L.*, III, 715 and V, 411, which contain seven accents, is always formed of an iambus, even when there is a break in the verse after the ninth syllable, as in *P. L.*, II, 810: 'But thou, O father, I forewarn thee, shun His deadly arrow' (and cf. *P. L.*, II, 573, 864; III, 289, 342; VII, 614; *P. R.*, I, 378; IV, 562). And in the four lines quoted by Professor Masson[2] as ending with a spondee (*P. L.*, I, 122, 376; *P. R.*, IV, 423, 633), we only detect a final iambus which enables the tenth sounded syllable to stand out clearly from the rest.

Though the lines beginning with a double trochee are but few in number, fewer still are those which have only two iambuses left. In Milton's epics we have only noticed the following: 'In′ their tríple degrees—régions to which' (*P. L.*, V, 750), 'Búrnt after them / tó the bóttomless pit' (*P. L.*, VI, 866), 'Présent? thús to his Son / aúdibly spake' (*P. L.*, VII, 518), 'In′ the sweát of thy face / thóu shalt eat bread' (*P. L.*, X, 205), 'Wi′th them from bliss / to′ the bóttomless Deep' (*P. R.*, I, 361), 'Li′ght from above, / fróm the Foúntain of Light' (*P. R.*, IV, 289), and perhaps we may add: 'A′nd with these words / hís temptátion pursued' (*P. R.*, II, 405), where the second word of the line might, however, be stressed instead of the first. Professor Masson[3] produces still further instances (*P. L.*, I, 21, 122; IV, 830, 865; VI, 912; *P. R.*, III, 443; IV, 279, 423), which we, for our part, should be inclined to scan differently. Again he describes as containing but one iambus[3]: 'Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last' (*P. L.*, I, 376), 'Me, me only, just object of His ire' (*P. L.*, X, 936), 'After forty days' fasting, had remained' (*P. R.*, II, 243), and *P. L.*, VI, 886 and *P. R.*, II, 405 quoted above. To us the first of these lines appears perfectly regular, and in the next two we only discover a double trochee at the beginning. Lastly, Professor Masson mentions *P. R.*, IV, 633: 'Hail, Son of the Most High, heir of both worlds,' as innocent of even one iambus, whereas we find a trochee or a spondee in the first foot and a trochee after the caesura putting an emphasis on *the*, *High*, *heir* and *worlds*[1].

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[1] Line 610 in *P. L.*, IX: 'Me thus, though importune perhaps, to come' would seem to be an exception, but the modern pronunciation *ímportū́ne* would restore iambuses and appears perfectly legitimate despite *P.R.*, II, 404.

[2] Cf. D. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 217.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 218.

Indeed, not only do we contend that Milton never allows more than three trochees in his epic line, we also maintain that he never places these three side by side. It may seem as if the following instances: 'Shoots invisible virtue e'en to the Deep' (*P. L.*, III, 586), and 'On a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star' (*P. L.*, IV, 556), contradict our assertion. But it must be remembered that if we give *invisible* four syllables and blend the final vowel of *virtue* with *e'en*, the third foot is an iambus, and in the second decasyllable *sunbeám* may well be accented on the final component, as is so often the case in Milton[2]. Of course, a line starting with three successive trochees would wholly fail to convey an iambic rhythm, and this certainly acted as a deterrent on one of the most careful English poets, preventing the occurrence in his epics of such a fault against the metre.

We may now sum up the above considerations as follows. Milton never allows his line to fall short of or to exceed ten counted syllables. He almost always includes at least three iambuses in the heroic decasyllable. To these assertions, however, many critics demur, and Professor Masson, who insists on the deliberate pronunciation of each word, fancies he can detect quite a number of trisyllabic feet (the so-called trisyllabic variations) in the poet's verse. The fallacy which underlies this contention, is that of believing that an English writer of the seventeenth century can be read exactly as one of our contemporaries without allowing for the contractions in common use at the time. If, however, the student will comply with the rules of language that prevailed in 1660, as we showed in a previous discussion, he will find no difficulty in bringing back each line of Milton's to ten syllables, and will at once see how erroneous and inconsistent every other scansion proves.

Again, we must not forget that while, on the one hand, the decasyllable by its very nature favours the use of disyllabic feet, on the other hand both the anapaestic and the dactylic rhythm was practically unknown to English epic and dramatic poetry under Elizabeth and James I[3]. Consequently Milton was hardly likely to adopt, in the loftiest form of verse, a metre which had till then been almost exclusively confined to popular songs and ballads. Professor Masson, however, holds opposite views to these[1], and we shall have to examine the lines he quotes in support of his theory. It is interesting to note his admission that all his quotations can be made to conform to the regular type by means of such contractions and elisions as we have already shown to be usual in Milton[2]. Of course, he ridicules the contrary opinion by the fanciful way in which he supposes it to meet the necessities of the case. Thus in *Comus*, l. 602: 'But for that damned magician, let him be girt,' he imagines *magician* to be reduced to *magish*, whereas the last syllable is rapidly sounded, but not counted in the line, and in *P. R.*, II, 234, instead of his *nadvantage* we should quite naturally read *no 'dvantage*, or again in *P. L.*, II, 1021–22: 'So he with difficulty and labour hard Moved on. With difficulty and labour he,' instead of his absurd *diffikty* we should pronounce *diff'culty*, by no means offending even the most fastidious ears. Having premised this much, we shall proceed with the critical examination of the instances he gives to prove his views, taking them one by one in the order in which he brings them forward[3]. In *P. L.*, I, 202: 'Created hugest that swim the ocean stream,' we note an extra syllable, in *hug-*(*est*) before the caesura, in *P. L.*, II, 91 we read *tort'ring* for *torturing*, in *P. L.*, I, 248 *reas'n* for *reason*, in *P. L.*, II, 261 we discover in *ev*(*il*) an extra syllable before the caesura, in *P. L.*, II, 564 we would blend *glory⁀and*, in *P. L.*, II, 844 contract *immeas'rably*, in *P. L.*, II, 877 elide *Th'intricate*, in *P. L.*, II. 878 read *ir'n* for *iron*, in *P. L.*, IV, 251 make an epic caesura of *on*(*ly*), in *P. L.*, IV, 802 blend *fancy,⁀and*, in *P. L.*, IV, 848 *Virtue⁀in*, in *P. L.*, V, 455 make *di͡et* into a monosyllable, in *P. L.*, V, 576 elide *t' other*, in *P. L.*, VII, 335 *th' Earth*, in *P. L.*, VII, 446 blend together *starry⁀eyes*, in *P. L.*, VII, 533 elide *th' air*, in *P. L.*, IX, 429 *purpl', azure*, in *P. L.*, IX, 764 contract *eat'n*, in *P. L.*, X, 203 blend *also⁀and*, in *P. L.*, X, 478 *fiercely⁀opposed*, in *P. L.*, X, 762 note an epic caesura in *beget* (*me*)*? I*, in *P. L.*, X, 768 blend *justly⁀is*, in *P. L.*, X, 906 *adversary,⁀his*, in *P. L.*, XI, 336 *only;⁀his*, in *P. L.*, XI, 452 contract *pi*(*e*)*ty*, in *P. L.*, XI, 563 *res'nant* for *resonant*, in *P. L.*, XII, 62 *Ridic'lous*, in *P. L.*, XII, 203 *pill'r* for *pillar*, in *P. L.*, XII, 340 blend *city,⁀his*, in *P. L.*, XII, 370 *hereditary,⁀and*, in *P. L.*, XII, 383 contract

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[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 335–36, for instances of accented *thé* and in Milton himself note *P. L.*, I, 40: 'He trusted to have equalled thé Most High,' and cf. also *P. L.*, XII, 369.

[2] See for this point the preceding section but one.

[3] Cf. J. Motheré, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–63, and J. Schipper, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 237–38.

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[1] Cf. D. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 220–23.

[2] Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 221: 'All these might be rectified into Decasyllabics by supposing elisions, slurs or contracted utterances....There could be no more absurd error.'

[3] See *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 220–21.

cap'tal, in *P. R.*, I, 256 elide *Templ', and*, in *P. R.*, I, 356 contract *Know'ng*, in *P. R.*, II, 5 *author'ty*, in *P. R.*, II, 44 elide *th' Earth*, in *P. R.*, II, 82 *t'any*, in *P. R.*, II. 124 contract *Pow'rs*, or perhaps *Wat'r*, in *P. R.*, II, 289 blend *Only⁀in*, in *P. R.*, III, 120 read with aphaeresis *glory he 'xacts* for *he exacts*, in *P. R.*, III, 323 contract *fly'ng*, in *P. R.*, III, 325 *o'ercame*, in *P. R.*, IV, 243 blend *City⁀or*, in *P. R.*, IV, 270 elide *th' arsenal*, in *P. R.*, IV, 280 read *Epicure(an)* with an extra syllable before the caesura (or an epic caesura) or contract it into *Epicurean*[1] in *P. R.*, IV, 553 blend *thee⁀and.*

Again, Professor Masson quotes the following lines as containing two trisyllabic feet: 'Wallowing unwieldy, enormous in their gait' (*P. L.*, VII, 411), 'Where obvious duty erewhile appeared unsought' (*P. L.*, X, 106), 'If sorrow unfeigned and humiliation meek?' (*P. L.*, X, 1092), 'Though ravenous, taught to abstain from what they brought' (*P. R.*, II, 269), 'The one winding, the other straight, and left between' (*P. R.*, III, 256), 'Aim at the highest, without the highest attained' (*P. R.*, IV, 106).

Taking these several instances in due succession, we prefer to read '*Wall'wing* and *unwieldy,⁀enormous, obvious* as a disyllable and *duty⁀erewhile, sorrow⁀unfeigned* and *humiliation* with a contraction as four syllables, *rav'nous* and *t'abstain, Th' one* and *th' other*[2], *high(est)* in the first case with an extra syllable before the caesura and in the second *high'st* with a contraction, and we fail to detect any harshness in the result.

Thus the above lines all revert easily to the regular type of the decasyllable. We have also noted a few, not mentioned by Professor Masson, which seem abnormal, but can be shown to conform to the usual rule of the verse. They are the following: 'And where the River of Bliss through midst of Heaven' (*P. L.*, III, 358), 'Earth and the Garden of God with cedars crowned' (*P. L.*, V, 260), 'Because thou hast hearkened to the voice of thy wife' (*P. L.*, X, 198), 'Unbid; and thou shalt eat the herb of the field' (*P. L.*, X, 204), 'The savour of death from all things there that live' (*P. L.*, X, 269).

In the first two quotations, if we contract *Riv'r* and *Gard'n*, and in the last, if we contract *savour* into *sav'r*, we find the normal decasyllabic metre. So, too, in the fourth line, if we elide *th' herb*. The third line is perhaps the most apparently irregular in either epic poem, probably because it is an attempt to preserve the very words of Scripture[1]. Yet even here perfect regularity is restored if we read *thou'st* for *thou hast* and elide *the voice* into *th' voice*[2] (cf. in Milton's *Lycidas*, l. 80, *th' world* for *the world*).

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[1] 'Epicurean and the Stoic severe' (*P. R.*, IV, 280). It would be hard here to contract *Stoic* into a monosyllable since in *Comus*, l. 707, and in *P .R.*, IV, 300, it is disyllabic.

[2] The line shows the elisions in the first edition of *P. R.*

After a careful scrutiny of the verse in both *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained*, we have thus discovered no other feet than disyllabic ones formed of a stressed and of an unstressed syllable. In the next section we shall, indeed, give instances of a few accentual spondees, but, as a rule, Milton may be said to have used either iambuses or trochees, mixing them together so that we seldom meet with two, and never with three, consecutive trochees. Thus he is careful both to preserve the iambic rhythm of the whole and to add the zest of pleasing variety. But above all, if we except the comparatively rare cases of extra syllables not counted in the measure, his epic line always and everywhere consists of ten sounded syllables and no more.

VII.

Our enquiry into the metrical feet used by Milton has shown us that he mainly favoured the iambus and the trochee. But it still remains an open question whether the older English poets had the same conception of metrical feet as our later contemporaries. Throughout the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries literary critics chiefly insisted on the regular number of counted syllables in the line and seem to have paid little attention to stresses. In recent times, however, writers have emphasized the importance of accents and regard it more or less as a matter of indifference how many unstressed syllables are to be allowed in the heroic measure. But since we are merely concerned with Milton's versification, it is well to point out that in his day blank verse was restricted to ten syllables only, set to an iambic rhythm, and did not obey a hard and fast rule with regard to accentuation. A curious instance which bears out this contention is to be found in John Donne's poetry. His decasyllable is perfectly correct, if we are content only to count syllables, whereas his deliberate disregard of the stresses often leads to results which jar on a delicate ear.

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[1] This, in a different case, Prof. Masson has quite well recognized. See *op. cit.*, p. 223: 'Milton is quoting from Scripture and it is his habit then to compel the metre to adopt the literal text.'

[2] The elision is marked in the print of the first edition.

We must, therefore, in Milton, too, be prepared for greater freedom in the use of accents. But to avoid Donne's harshness, he does observe certain principles with respect to the accents of his line. It is well known that the ten-syllable metre having a strong final stress and another on the fourth or the sixth syllable naturally tends to adopt the iambic beat. This the poet duly noticed, and hence in his epic-versification he always admits five stresses at least.

Here, however, we are again met by a stout denial on the part of recent critics. Professor Masson[1] quotes a few instances with four accents only and Mr Bridges[2] appears of the same opinion. Turning to the former's quotations, we notice at once that he takes no account whatever of slight stresses falling either on some less important word such as a conjunction or an adverb, or on a prefix or a suffix, though we saw above (pp. 310–11) that these stresses really exist. Thus in *P. L.*, III, 719: 'Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move,' we should certainly put some emphasis on *as*; in *P. L.*, IV, 74: 'Infinite wrath and infiníte despair,' on the ending of *infinite* when it is repeated, in *P. L.*, IV, 556: 'Ón a sunbeam, swift as a shooting star,' on the initial preposition *On*, in *P. L.*, VI, 866: 'Burnt after them tó the bottomless pit,' on *tó* standing for *up to*, in *P. L.*, VIII, 299: 'Tó the Garden of Bliss, thy seat prepared,' on *To*[3], in *P. L.*, IX, 791: 'Greedily shé ingorged without restraint,' on the pronoun *she* which specially recalls our attention to Eve, in *P. L.*, X, 205: 'Ín the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread,' on the first preposition *Ín*; so, too, in *P. R.*, I, 361: 'With them from bliss tó the bottomless Deep' on *tó*, in *P. R.*, II, 171: 'And made him bow tó the gods of his wives,' on the preposition *tó* which immediately follows the caesura, in *P. R.*, II, 405: 'And with these words hís temptation pursued,' on *hís* placed in an equally emphatic position, in *P. R.*, III, 432: 'Their énemiés who serve idols with God,' on the last syllable of *énemiés*, in *P. R.*, IV, 289: 'Light from above, fróm the Fountain of Light,' on *fróm* which comes just after the caesura, and in *P. R.*, IV, 597: '*Ín* the bosom of bliss, and light of light,' on the initial preposition *Ín*.

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[1] Cf. D. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 219: 'In a good many of the lines only four distinct accents can be counted....In three lines...I can detect but three.' We examine all these in the order in which the critic has quoted them.

[2] Cf. Robert Bridges, *Milton's Prosody*, 1894, pp. 17–19.

[3] Here and in *P. R.*, IV, 597, Mr Bridges himself lays a stress on the initial *To* and *In* (see R. Bridges, *op. cit.*, p. 37).

Passing on to the lines mentioned by Mr Bridges[1] we should accent in *P. L.*, I, 498: 'Ánd in luxurious cities, where the noise,' *Ánd* which begins the line, in *P. L.*, I, 74: 'Ás from the centre thrice to the utmost pole,' *Ás* which occupies a similar position in the verse; in *P. L.*, I, 64: 'Served only tó discover sights of woe,' *tó* which here marks the purpose; in *P. L.*, VIII, 464: 'Still glorious béfore whom awake I stood,' *béfore* with a stress on the first syllable[2]; in *P. L.*, VI, 599: 'Nor served it tó relax their serried files,' *tó* with an accent before the verb; in *P. L.*, I, 61: 'A dungeon hórriblé, on all sides round,' *hórriblé* with two stresses (cf. above p. 311), which brings out the full force of the adjective; in *P. L.*, I, 124: 'Sole reigning holds the týranný of Heaven,' *týranný* with a concluding stress, if only on account of the hiatus, and in *P. L.*, I, 63: 'No light, but rather darkness vísiblé,' most certainly *vísiblé* with a double stress from its very position at the end of the line.

The same critics even discover in Milton lines with but three accents. As such Professor Masson quotes: 'Created thee in the image of God' (*P. L.*, VII, 527), 'In the visions of God: it was a hill' (*P. L.*, XI, 377), 'Surnamed Peripatetics, and the sect' (*P. R.*, IV, 279), and Mr Rob. Bridges: 'His ministers of vengeance and pursuit' (*P. L.*, I, 170), 'The sojourners of Goshen who beheld' (*P. L.*, I, 309), 'Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf' (*P. L.*, I, 329).

Let us examine these six quotations somewhat more closely. In example 1 we notice a stress on *thee* and a slighter stress on *in* which follows the caesura. In 2 we recognize (with Mr Bridges) an accent on the initial *Ín* and another secondary one on *wás*. In 3 we would read *Perípatétics* or rather *Péripatétics* with a double accent and would slightly stress *ánd*. As for the remaining instances, in 4 and 5 we detect a minor accent on the last syllable of *mínistérs*, and *sójournérs* and another on *ánd* and *whó*. And in 6 we would slightly emphasize *tó* and *óf*, as earlier poets used to do frequently[3] for purposes of versification.

Should the latter proof, however, fail to carry conviction, we may refer to instances in point borrowed from Milton himself. It is a patent fact that he often gives a stress to the invariable particle of compound verbs, *e.g.* to *on* in *P. L.*, II, 804; 'Grim Death, my son and foe, who sets them on' (and cf. *P. L.*, II, 673, *P. R.*, III, 271), to *in* as in *P. L.*, VII, 566; 'Open ye Heavens, your living doors! let in' (and cf. *P. L.*,

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[1] Mr Bridges recognizes the existence of a minor stress, but thinks it can be safely neglected.

[2] See above p. 314 and in Mr Bridges himself, *op. cit.*, pp. 55–56.

[3] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 335–38.

X, 94) or to *out* as in *P. R.*, I, 334: 'What happens new; fame also finds us out.'

If a strong accent is allotted to such words in these cases, why need we be surprised to find them slightly stressed elsewhere, with a different grammatical function? Nay, even at the end of the line we occasionally find *these* in *P. R.*, III, 32: 'Of Macedonian Philip had ere these'; *then* in *P. L.*, V, 514: 'Obedient? Can we want obedience then'; *where* in *P. L.*, V, 340: 'In Pontus or the Punic coast, or where'; pronouns like *we* in *P. L.*, II, 239: 'Of new subjection; with what eyes could we,' like *I* in *P. L.*, XI, 763: 'O visions ill foreseen! Better had I,' or *who* in *P. L.*, X, 121: 'So dreadful to thee? That thou art naked who Hath told thee?' (and cf. *P. L.*, V, 398) and the adverb *not* in *P. L.*, X, 918: 'I beg and clasp thy Knees; bereave me not' (and cf. *P. L.*, V, 548). Again we ask if such words are granted a strong accent when they play an important part in the sentence, why should they not take a secondary stress under different circumstances? Notice, too, that the same monosyllables sometimes become prominent through standing at the beginning of a line and being cut off from what follows by a sharply marked caesura like *Till* in *P. L.*, I, 347: 'Till, as a signal given, the uplifted spear,' and cf. *Though* (*P. L.*, I, 394), *For* (*P. L.*, II, 54), *Or* (*P.L.*, II, 99, X, 218), *And* (*P. L.*, II, 793), *But* and *He* (*P. L.*, III, 208–9), *How* (*P. L.*, IV, 237) and *Yet* (*P. L.*, V, 826). Here, of course, these words cannot but be powerfully accented and it is therefore unquestionable that they can legitimately be stressed in epic verse. Now, too, we are entitled to lay due weight on the opinion of critics, such as Dr Abbott, who regard it as a serious defect in the heroic metre if it should happen to begin with more than one unaccented syllable[1], so as to make the iambic rhythm uncertain at the very outset. This will imply the accentuation of *if* in *P. L.*, II, 503: 'As if (which might induce us to accord),' of *so* in *P. L.*, I, 644, of *far* in *P. L.*, III, 88, of *not* in *P. L.*, VI, 293, of *Or* in *P. L.*, X, 1072, of *my* in *P. R.*, III, 205, etc. We may therefore conclude that Milton requires ten counted syllables and no fewer than five accents to make up an epic line.

This self-imposed law of the poet's is, indeed, stricter, as far as accents are concerned, than the practice of his predecessors warranted. Chaucer, who introduced the decasyllable into English literature, is sometimes satisfied with a four-stressed line, if we may believe Professor

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[1] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, p. 330: 'the first foot (in Shakespeare) almost always has an emphatic accent.'

Ten Brink[1], one of the best authorities on the subject. The well-known distich quoted by George Gascoigne[2] as an instance of other feet than those of two syllables: 'No wight in this world, that wealth can attayne Unlesse he beleve that all is but vayne,' also shows ten syllables with but four accents. Lastly, according to Dr Abbott's[3] account, the Elizabethan dramatists often remain content with the same number of stresses in their blank verse and occasionally drop one stress (or even a whole foot) if its place can be supplied by a gesture of the actor or if a new idea is expressed in the latter half of the line. This, of course, helped to mould the metre to the very thought it had to convey. But Milton, when he wrote his epic works, renounced the liberties of the playwrights and both with regard to the accent and to the syllables which make up the measure, tended to greater regularity.

We need not suppose, however, that all the stresses in his decasyllabic line are equally strong and indeed the divergent views put forth (as we saw above p. 33) in the case of some quotations, such as *P. L.*, IV, 556; VIII, 299; and *P. R.*, IV, 597, go to prove as much. There are usually three or four strong accents, as in a corresponding prose sentence, that stand out in the heroic metre. These are clearly heard in recitation and rest chiefly on nouns, adjectives, verbs or pronouns. A lighter stress falls, in accordance with the older use of the language and the practice of the earlier poets, on the ending of polysyllables and on short and less important words. Far from being overpowered by the weightier accents, they can be cleverly used by the poets for purposes of scansion and are constantly employed after this fashion in English versification.

It is of some interest to note how Milton turns these weaker stresses to account. Thus in 912 lines in the sixth book of *Paradise Lost* we find 264 in which, for the sake of the metre, such comparatively insignificant terms are accented. The secondary stress is then principally placed on connecting words in the sentence, and, if we take them in the order of frequency, on *and*, on the prepositions *of*, *to*, *in*, *from* and on the conjunctions *as* and *or*. A curious fact is that Milton, when he repeats the same conjunction, as in the case of *or...or*, *nor...nor*, usually emphasizes one of them only[4], *e.g.* 'In Pontus ór the Punic coast, or where' (*P. L.*, V, 340), (and cf. *P. L.*, VIII, 318; X, 107), 'Nor number nór example with him wrought' (*P. L.*, v, 901), (and cf. *P. L.*, VII, 253). Articles are more rarely stressed and *a* indeed never, except perhaps in *P. R.*, I, 70. But the definite article *the* does at times receive an accent, as in *P. L.*, I, 756: 'At Pandemonium, the high capital' (and cf. *P. L.*, II 219; IV, 592; VII, 448, 469, 550; X, 279; XII, 369; *P. R.*, I, 245; IV, 633). Only, as these instances show, it is almost always when the article has more or less a demonstrative force. So, too, the sign of the infinitive *to* is fairly often stressed when it implies purpose, *e.g.* 'Receive him coming tó receive from us' (*P. L.*, v, 781), (and cf. *P. L.*, VII, 222; VIII, 412, 632; XI, 339; *P. R.*, I, 101; III, 247; IV, 308).

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[1] See B. Ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, 1884, p. 183.

[2] Geo. Gascoigne (in Professor Arber's English Reprints), *Certayne Notes of Instruction in English Verse* (1575), p. 34.

[3] Cf. E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 413–17.

[4] The poet accents both, however, in *P. L.*, XI, 102: 'Or in behalf of Man, or to invade.'

These words with secondary accents occupy various places in the line, but do not, as a rule, occur consecutively. We may also notice from the above examples that such weak stresses, except through some slip on the part of the poet, are not found at the beginning or at the close of the verse. Indeed, the tenth sounded syllable in Milton's epic poems always takes a strong accent (a canon sometimes violated by the Elizabethan dramatists), and less important words, such as *then*, *these*, *who*, etc., are only placed there when they play a somewhat prominent part in the sentence. The weaker stresses, therefore, mostly appear in the second or the fourth foot of the heroic metre and serve as a kind of foil to the more emphatic accents which they enclose.

This alone would suffice to show what a careful writer Milton is. Notice, too, how seldom he allows two consecutive stresses without an intervening pause[1]. He usually requires an interruption brought about by a break in the sentence, by a full stop or the close of a paragraph. It is always so between strong accents, as in *P. L.*, III, 400: 'Not so on Mán: hím, through their malice fallen,' and cf. *P. L.*, IV, 985; v, 521; VII, 261; IX, 553; XII, 420; *P. R.*, II, 91. Minor accents are also mostly not consecutive. In the case of a light and a strong stress following on each other the poet interposes a pause, if not an actual caesura, between them as in *P. L.*, VIII, 622: 'Whatever púre / thoú in the body enjoy'st,' and cf. *P. L.*, III, 621; v, 257; IX, 172; XI, 890. With regard, therefore, to the accentual spondee, that is, a foot formed of two consecutive stresses, we take it that not only does it seldom occur in Milton, owing to its infrequency in the English language, but that it is never found in his epic poems without an intermediary caesura[1].

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[1] We must except a small number of lines where two consecutive accents occur without a marked break in the sense at the traditional place formerly reserved for the regular caesura. Thus we occasionally find them on the fourth and fifth syllables as in *P. L.*, I, 281: 'No wonder, fáll'n súch a prodigious height' (and cf. *P. L.*, I, 562; VI, 32, 826, 906; VII, 543; IX, 92; XI, 60), or less frequently still on the sixth and seventh syllables, as in *P. L.*, II, 692: 'Drew after him the thírd párt of Heaven's sons' (and cf. *P. L.* III, 161; VIII, 62; IX, 33, 203, 206; *P.R.* III, 135).

Having thus ascertained the poet's practice with reference to the smallest number of accents he admits and their position in his heroic line, we must now notice the liberties he takes in such matters. His chief departure from the usual rule as stated above, is the adoption of a few more stresses, and in most cases of six, for his blank verse. He then generally places these accents together at the beginning or at the end of the metre which is made to have three caesuras, as in *P. L.*, IV, 722: 'The Gód that máde both ský, aír, eárth, and Heáven.' If this is not observed in some of his verses (*e.g. P. L.*, VI, 44; IX, 473; *P. R.*, IV, 633), it would seem to be because they may be scanned with but five stresses or because, as in *P. L.*, IX, 111: 'Productive in hérb, plánt, and nobler birth,' or in *P. L.*, IX, 206: 'This Garden, still to ténd plánt, herb and flower,' the fifth and the seventh syllable respectively may receive an accent as coming after the traditional position of the caesura. As a rule, however, the fact remains that Milton prefers grouping at least three nouns, adjectives or verbs (*e.g.* in *P. L.*, II, 893; IV, 115; VII, 212, 502–3; *P. R.*, I, 474; III, 75), which he separates from each other by some sort of pause.

Such six-stressed lines are comparatively frequent in the epic poems, since we find eight of them in a total number of 1189 verses in the ninth book of *Paradise Lost* (ll. 111, 113, 118, 206, 335, 473, 730, 899). Those with seven or eight accents are much rarer. Of the former, in our opinion[2], there are only three, *e.g.*: 'The cúmbrous éleménts—Eárth, Flóod, Aír, Fíre' (*P. L.*, III, 715), 'Of sénse, wherebý they heár, sée, sméll, toúch, táste' (*P. L.*, V, 411), 'I meán of táste, síght, sméll, hérbs, frúits, and flówers' (*P. L.*, VIII, 527), and the latter are represented by a single specimen[3], viz.: 'Rócks, cáves, lákes, féns, bógs, déns, and shádes of deáth' (*P. L.*, II, 621). They all, however, have this in common that each is composed of ten sounded syllables and has at least four distinct caesuras. Some metrists indeed, as for instance G. Conway, insist on reducing these lines to five accents by leaving a few of the nouns unstressed. This to us seems an inadmissible contention. To take a case in point, *P. L.*, III, 715 contains an enumeration of the four elements, and there is no reason why the first and third should be considered of less account than the second and fourth. A similar argument holds good in the other cases, and it therefore appears that Milton willingly allows more than five accents in his epic metre provided they are separated from each other by an unstressed syllable or a strongly marked caesura.

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[1] For this reason we fail to see consecutive accents in such lines as *P. L.*, II, 231, 624, 702, 755, which some critics (see G. Conway, *A Treatise on Versification*, 1878, p. 38) consider faulty in Milton's epic. We should in these quotations emphasize not the nouns, but the adjectives and verbs, *e.g.* scanning *P. L.*, II, 702, thus: 'Thy ling'ring ór with óne stroke óf this dárt' or perhaps 'with óne stróke of this dárt' (see the previous note).

[2] Prof. Masson (*op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 219) quotes *P. R.*, IV, 633, as a line of seven accents. We can only detect five, or perhaps six, in it.

[3] The two other lines, *P. L.*, I, 376, and *P. R.*, IV, 423, which Prof. Masson (*op. cit.* vol. III, p. 219) regards as having eight stresses seem to us to contain merely five.

Should the question be raised why the poet departs at times from his usual rule, it would be hard to give a satisfactory answer. Milton seems to admit a six-stressed line for the sake of metrical variety, though he remains true to the syllabic principle of his verse and takes care that one-half of the measure should be perfectly regular. Perhaps, too, he adopted such hexameters, if we may so term them, in imitation of the grand alexandrine which so aptly concludes the Spenserian stanza. They already occur in the works of several sixteenth century poets[1], and the increased number of accents and caesuras lengthens the line for the ear and adds to its harmony and impressiveness. Applied, as they usually are, to an enumeration, they forcibly bring out its several terms and heighten the cumulative effect.

With regard to stresses, therefore, Milton adopts no hard and fast rule. Whereas his epic metre must contain ten sounded syllables, the accents may be variously distributed in the line. Seldom, indeed, do we find two consecutive decasyllables stressed in the same manner. Now the emphasis falls quite regularly on every other syllable and we get a perfect iambic rhythm, now it rests on the initial syllable of the measure or on the one after the caesura, or again, when the pauses are shifted, it can occupy almost any place in the heroic line. And, if the thought expressed requires them, we may meet with as many as seven, or even eight accents. The poet's sway over words is absolute. He disposes them at will, and in his poems they stand grouped or isolated, in accordance with his hidden purpose, like the trees that make up some vast forest.

WALTER THOMAS.

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[1] Something similar is shown by E. A. Abbott, *op. cit.*, pp. 397–99.

THE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF LOPE DE VEGA'S COMEDIA, 'LA ARCADIA.'

Lope de Vega's comedia, *La Arcadia*, was first published in the *Trezena parte de las Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*, Madrid, 1620. It is well known that this comedia has the same argument as his pastoral romance, *La Arcadia*, first published in 1598 (Madrid, L. Sanchez), in which he celebrated the love-affairs of his patron, D. Antonio, Duke of Alba. However, not all the incidents of the pastoral romance were included in the comedia, the comic scenes in which Cardenio plays a part, being especially developed in the latter.

Opinions as to the probable date of composition of this play have differed widely. Sr Menéndez y Pelayo in his introduction to this play, published in the Spanish Academy's edition of Lope de Vega, thinks it is not likely that it belongs to the first half of Lope's dramatic career, since the title does not appear in either of the lists of his plays, published by Lope in *El Peregrino*, in 1604 and 1618[1]. Schack[2], speaking of Lope's pastoral play's, says 'Unter den wenigen, die seinen *späteren* Jahren angehören, glänzt *La Arcadia* durch die schöne Klarheit des Styls und durch den Reiz der Natur- und Empfindungsgemälde.' On the other hand, Chorley[3], judging from the fact that the play has no true *figura del donayre*, a feature introduced into the comedia by Lope at least before 1602, thinks that *La Arcadia* was among the earliest pieces of the author, but that it was retouched to its present form before its publication in 1620.

In the prologue to this *Parte Trezena*, Lope complains bitterly that certain persons had committed his plays to memory, in the theatre, and then had sold incorrect versions of them to other theatrical managers. 'To this must be added the stealing of comedias by those whom the vulgar call, the one *Memorilla*, and the other *Gran Memoria*; who, with the few verses which they learn, mingle an infinity of their own barbarous lines, whereby they earn a living, selling them to the villages and to distant theatrical managers: base people these, without a calling, and many of whom have been jail-birds. I should like to rid myself of the care of publishing them (*i.e.* these plays), but I cannot, for they print them with my name, while they are the work of the pseudo-poets of whom I have spoken[1].' He makes a similar complaint in his dedication of *La Arcadia* to Dr Gregorio López Madera. 'Espero, entre otras cosas, que quien ha escrito é impreso (si bien en tan distintas y altas materias) se dolerá de los que escriben, y que ahora tendrá remedio lo que tantas veces se ha intentado, desterrando de los teatros unos hombres que viven, se sustentan y visten de hurtar á los autores las comedias, diciendo que las toman de memoria de sólo oirlas, y que este no es hurto, respecto de que el representante las vende al pueblo, y que se pueden valer de su memoria, que es lo mismo que decir que un ladrón no lo es porque se vale de su entendimiento, dando trazas, haciendo llaves, rompiendo rejas, fingiendo personas, cartas, firmas y diferentes hábitos. Esto no sólo es en daño de los autores, porque andan perdidos y empeñados, pero, lo que es más de sentir, de los ingenios que las escriben, porque yo he hecho diligencia para saber de uno de éstos, llamado *el de la gran memoria*, si era verdad que la tenía; y he hallado, leyendo sus traslados, que para un verso mío, hay infinitos suyos, llenos de locuras, disparates é ignorancias, bastantes á quitar la honra y opinión al mayor ingenio en nuestra nación y las extranjeras, donde ya se leen con tanto gusto[2].'

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[1] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, published by the Spanish Academy, vol. v, p. lxv.

[2] *Geschichte der dramatischen Literatur und Kunst in Spanien*, vol. ii, p. 381.

[3] H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 495.

Christóbal Suárez de Figueroa gives us more definite information in regard to this practice, so strongly condemned by Lope, in his *Plaza Universal de todas ciencias y artes*, published at Madrid in 1615[3]. He says: 'Hállase en Madrid al presente un mancebo grandemente memorioso. Llámase Luis Remirez de Arellano, hijo de nobles padres, y natural de Villaescusa de Haro. Éste toma de memoria una comedia entera de tres vezes que la oye, sin discrepar un punto en traça y versos. Aplica el primer dia á la disposicion; el segundo á la variedad de la composicion; el tercero á la puntualidad de las coplas. Deste modo encomienda á la memoria las comedias que quiere. En particular tomó assí la *Dama Boba*, el *Principe Perfeto*, y la *Arcadia*, sin otras. Estando yo oyendo la del *Galan de la Membrilla* que representaba Sánchez, començó este autor á cortar el argumento y á interrumpir el razonado, tan al descubierto, que obligó le preguntassen de que procedia semejante aceleracion y truncamiento; y respondió publicamente, que de estar delante (y señalóle) quien en tres dias tomaba de memoria qualquier comedia, y que de temor no le usurpasse aquella, la recitaba tan mal. Alborotóse con esto el teatro, y pidieron todos hiziesse pausa, y en fin hasta que se salió dél Luis Remirez, no hubo remedio de que se passase adelante.' Here we have the account of the affair from an eye-witness, and it surely adds an interesting detail to the history of the Spanish stage.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 272.

[2] *Obras de Lope de Vega*, vol. v, pp. 707–8.

[3] Ed. of Madrid, 1615, Discurso LVIII, *De los Professores de Memoria*, fol. 237. The relation of this passage of the *Plaza Universal* to Lope's complaint in the dedication of *La Arcadia*, was first mentioned by J. K. Seidemann, *Zur Geschichte des spanischen Dramas in Lope de Vega's Zeit*, in *Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung*, 1853, No. 31.

We learn from Figueroa's account, that four of Lope's plays, *La Dama Boba*, *El Príncipe Perfeto*, *La Arcadia* and *El Galan de la Membrilla*, had been produced at Madrid shortly before 1615, the date of the publication of the *Plaza Universal*. For all of these plays, except the *Arcadia*, we have autograph manuscripts, the dates of which confirm Figueroa's statement. *La Dama Boba* was completed on April 28, 1613, *El Príncipe Perfeto* on December 23, 1614, and *El Galan de la Membrilla* on April 20, 1615. The *censura* for the *Plaza Universal* was signed on April 4, 1612, and the *aprobacion*, May 1, 1612, but the *tassa* was not signed until August 12, 1615[1]. We must infer that Figueroa had his book ready for print in 1612, but for some reason, the publication was delayed, and that he inserted the above passage after April 20, 1615, when *El Galan de la Membrilla* was completed. Since Figueroa mentioned *La Dama Boba* and *El Príncipe Perfeto* in the order in which they were written, it may not be too rash to infer that *La Arcadia* was written and acted between *El Príncipe Perfeto* and *El Galan de la Membrilla*, that is, between December 23, 1614, and April 20, 1615. It is true that *La Arcadia* shows certain characteristics of Lope's early style, but it seems hardly likely that a play of so little intrinsic merit should have continued in favour for so long a time as thirteen years, supposing that after 1602, Lope substituted the *figura del donayre* for the *simple* and *rústico*. However, just as we know that in a number of comedias written after 1602, Lope omitted the *figura del donayre*, so it has never been proved that he gave up entirely the use of the *simple* and *rústico* after 1602. In the absence of such proof, the evidence seems to favour the early part of the year 1615 as the date of the composition of *La Arcadia*.

J. P. WICKERSHAM CRAWFORD.

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[1] H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 472.

NOTES ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE SPANISH DRAMA.

II.[1]

Hermano (El) Francisco.—?
Represented by Gaspar de Porres before May 7, 1605. It is a *comedia divina.* See Cat. Bib. Nac., No. 1483.

Hermosa Alfreda (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Gaspar de Porres before March 20, 1601. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XIV, 1617.

Hermosa fea (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño in Valencia before April 26, 1632. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXIV, 1641.

***Hermosa Florinda (La).**—?
A comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Hermoso Peligro (El).—?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, May 16, 1634.

Hermosura (La) de Raquel.—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa before Feb. 12, 1630. Printed in *Flor de las Comedias*, Quinta Parte, Madrid, 1615.

***Heroe (El) de Portugal.**—Perhaps *El Rey Don Sebastian y Portugues mas heroico* by Juan Bautista de Villegas.
Represented by Bartolome Romero before Sept. 21, 1640.

Hija (La) de Marte.—?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Oct. 27, 1625.

Hijo (El) de las Batallas.—Jacinto Cordero.
Represented by Pedro Valdes before March 28, 1628. Published in Valencia in a volume of which Duran possessed a fragment. See Barrera, p. 100.

***Hijo (El) de la Sierra.**—?
A comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Hombre pobre (El).—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, before March 28, 1628, and on Oct. 11, 1633. Perhaps this is Calderon's *Hombre pobre todo es Trazas*, printed in Part II, 1637.

***Honra hurtada (La).**—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, before March 13, 1614.

Hortelano (El) de Tordesillas.—Luis de Belmonte y Bermudez.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, May 4, 1636. Printed only as a *suelta.*

Ignorante discreto (El).—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 22, 1628. There is a MS. comedia with the same title in the Bib. Nac. See *Catálogo*, No. 1567, where it is ascribed to Adrian Guerrero.

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[1] Continued from vol. II, p. 341.

***Industria (La) contra el Poder.**—Calderon.
A comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. It was first printed at Huesca, in 1634.

Infante (El) de Aragon.—Andres de Claramonte.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño before the Queen, in Oct. 1622. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. Printed as a *suelta.*

Infantes (Los) de Lara.—?
Represented by Pedro Valdes, June 8, 1625. There are at least three plays upon this subject, one by Juan de la Cueva, Velarde's *Tragedia de los Siete Infantes de Lara*, published in 1615, and Lope de Vega's *El Bastardo Mudarra*, finished on April 27, 1612.

Ingles (El) de mas valer.—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, May 13, 1623.

***Ingratitud por Amor.**—Guillen de Castro.
A comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella, in 1628 in Valencia. It was published by me (Philadelphia, 1899) from an undated MS. in the Biblioteca Nacional.

Intento castigado (El).—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Nov. 30, 1634. Barrera notes an anonymous *El Interes castigado.*

Ir y quedarse.—?
Represented by Avendaño before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622, and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. MS. in Bib. Nac. (copy), Cat., No. 1635.

Jamas.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Sept. 17, 1637.

Judia (La).—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa before Mar. 28, 1628. This may be either *Las Paces de los Reyes y Judia de Toledo* by Lope de Vega, Part VII, 1617, or Mescua's *Judia de Toledo*, written in 1625. See my article in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. VII, Paris, 1900.

Juegos (Los) de la Aldea.—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Feb. 12, 1630.

***Juhizio (El) Primera y Segunda Parte.**—?
Two comedias in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Juicios (Los) del Cielo.—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero in the Salon, Dec. 1633. It is probably Montalban's *Lo que son Juicios del Cielo*, printed anonymously in *Diferentes*, XXX, 1636.

Juliano Apostata.—Juan Velez de Guevara.
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311. Printed as a *suelta.* See Cat. Bib. Nac., No. 1698.

Labrador venturoso (El).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Avendaño before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622, and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXVIII, Huesca, 1634.

***La de los lindos Cabellos.**—D. Antonio de Mesa.
In the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Ladron fiel (El).—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, before Feb. 28, 1631.

Lagrimas (Las) de David.—*El Rey mas arrepentido.*—Felipe Godinez.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Nov. 1635, and by Adrian Lopez, Feb. 2, 1653. Published as a *suelta.*

Lavandera (La) de Italia.—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311. Perhaps this is *La Lavandera de Napoles*, by Rojas Zorrilla, Coello and Guevara, printed in *Escogidas*, XXIV, 1666, though Calderon and Montalban are there declared to be the joint authors with Rojas.

Lazarillo de Tormes.—Lope de Vega; written before 1618.
Represented by Juan de Morales, May 21, 1623.

***Libertad (La) restaurada.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Loca (La) del Cielo.—Diego de Villegas? Rojas Zorrilla?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 9, 1623. In the MS. No. 1897 of the Bib. Nac. it is called *La Loca del Cielo, Santa Pelagia*, and is ascribed to Villegas; Sr. Paz y Melia says the *borrador* seems an autograph, with licenses of 1625. As a *suelta* it is attributed to Rojas Zorrilla.

Lope de Almeida. = *La Venganza de D. Lope de Almeida.* (*A secreto Agravio secreta Venganza*).—Calderon.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, July 18, 1636. Printed in Calderon, *Comedias*, Part II, 1637. The play also bears the title *Vengarse con Fuego y Agua.*

Lo que obliga la Palabra.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Sept. 24, 1628.

Lo que puede una Sospecha.—Mira de Mescua.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before Jan. 23, 1636. Printed in *Escogidas*, IV, 1653.

Lo que puede la Limosna.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 15, 1628. Can this be Lope's *El Triunfo de la Limosna* mentioned in the first edition of his *Peregrino en su Patria* (1604)?

Luis Perez el Gallego.—Calderon.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Dec. 21, 1628. Printed in Calderon's *Comedias*, Part VIII, 1684.

Macabeos (Los).—Rojas Zorrilla?
Represented by Felipe Sanchez de Echeverria, Sept. 1623. MS. in Bib. Nac. See Cat., No. 1579.

Macías.—Lope de Vega. *Porfiar hasta morir* (*Macías el Enamorado*).
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, June 20, 1636. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXIII, 1638.

Maestro (El) de la Fortuna.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, June 5, 1636.

***Maravillas (Las) de Babilonia.**—Guillen de Castro.
Represented by Pedro Valdes, before July 21, 1625. Printed in *Flor de las mejores doce Comedias de los mayores Ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1652.

Marido (El) de su Hermana.—See *La mentirosa Verdad.*

Mariscal (El) Cleverin (sic).—?
Represented by Francisco Lopez, June 8, 1632. This is probably Montalban's *El Mariscal de Viron*, printed in *Diferentes*, XXV. Zaragoza, 1632, and certainly acted before Nov. 1632. Pérez Pastor, *Nuevos Datos*, p. 226.

Marques del Vasto (El).—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, May 14, 1634. Printed as a *suelta* only.

Martires (Los) Japones.—?
Represented by Pedro Rodriguez and others, before May 22, 1602. This is probably Lope's *Los primeros Mártires del Japon*, of which there is a MS. copy (dated Lisbon, 1617) in the Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 2034. Now printed in the Academy's edition of Lope, vol. v.

Mas constante Muger (La).—Montalban.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, April 3, 1633. First published in the author's *Para Todos* (1632).

Mas impropio (El) Verdugo.—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, Feb. 12, 1637. First printed in *Comedias* of Rojas, Part II, 1645.

Mas injusta (La) Venganza.—D. Juan de Velasco y Guzman?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, June 16, 1637. Its alternative title is *La Pérdida de España*, and it had been represented before the Queen prior to Feb. 8, 1623. See Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 66.

***Mas merece quien mas ama.**—Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.
Represented by Avendaño twice before the Queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. Printed in *Doce Comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega Carpio y otros autores*, Segunda Parte, Barcelona, 1630.

***Mas puede Amor que la Fuerza.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

Mas puede Amor que la Muerte.—Montalban.
Represented by Juan Martinez, June 5, 1631, and by Luis Lopez, Jan. 30, 1633. Printed only as a *suelta.*

***Mas vale bolando.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Mas vale fingir que Amar (*Examinarse de Rey*).—Mira de Mescua.
Represented by Juan Martinez, July 2, 1631. Printed only as a *suelta.*

***Mayor (El) de la casa de Austria.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

***Medicis (Los) [de Florencia].**—Jimenez de Enciso.
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Medico (El) de su Honra.—Lope de Vega? Calderon?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Oct. 8, 1628; and by Juan Martinez, June 10, 1635. The comedia with this title printed in *Comedias de Lope de Vega*, vol. XXVII (*extravagante*), Barcelona, 1633, is by Lope. It was represented by Avendaño, who was in Madrid in 1621–1623, and the play was probably produced during that period. The first representation was therefore, almost certainly, of Lope's play. The second representation *may* have been Calderon's play of the same title, which is a recast of Lope's comedia, and was first printed in vol. II of his *Comedias*, Madrid, 1637.

Mejor Amigo (El).—
Represented by Juan Martinez, Feb. 2, 1636. This play is probably *El mejor Amigo el muerto y Fortunas de Juan de Castro*, ascribed to Belmonte, Rojas Zorrilla and Calderon. According to Hartzenbusch (*Comedias de Calderon*, vol. IV, p. 661), it was written before Dec. 25, 1610. It is not likely, therefore, that Calderon, then ten years old, had a hand in it. It was first printed in *Escogidas*, IX, 1657. Moreto's play *El mejor Amigo el Rey*, need perhaps not be considered here as he was not born till 1618, though it is, of course, possible that it may have been written in 1636. See, however, the Catalogue of the Bib. Nac., No. 2118.

***Mejor (El) Consejo.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Mejor Testigo (El).—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, Aug. 10, 1625. It is wrongly ascribed to Calderon in a *suelta*. See *Quinta Parte* of Calderon, Madrid, 1694, in the list of plays ascribed to him.

Mentirosa Verdad (La), *ó el Marido de su Hermana.*—Juan Bautista de Villegas.
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 8, 1623. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXX, Zaragoza, 1636. It had previously (between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623), been represented before the Queen by Avendaño. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67.

Merecer para alcanzar (*la Fortuna merecida*).—Moreto.
Represented by Bartolome Romero, Dec. 8, 1637. Printed in *Escogidas*, XLIII, 1678.

Meritos con poca Dicha.—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, 'segundo dia de Pascua de Resurreccion,' 1623.

***Milagro (El) por los Celos** (*y Don Alvaro de Luna*).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Andres de la Vega, before Nov. 23, 1632. It occurs only as a *suelta*. According to the closing verses the alternative title is *La excelente Portuguesa, Doña Beatriz de Silva* (primera parte). MS. in Bib. Nac., see Cat., No. 2161; now printed in the Academy's edition of Lope, vol. x.

***Milagrosa (La) Eleccion de Pio V.**—Moreto.
Represented by Juan de Morales before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 66.) Printed in *Escogidas*, XXXIX, 1673.

Milagros (Los) del Desprecio.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Jerónima de Burgos, before Dec. 24, 1632. Printed in Part XXVII (*extravagante*), Barcelona, 1633. It occurs as a *suelta* ascribed to Montalban, with the title *Diablos son las Mujeres.*

Mirad á quien alabais.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Francisco Lopez, June 23, 1632. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XVI, 1621.

***Monco.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Monstruo (El) de los Jardines.**—Calderon.
Represented by Alonso Caballero in Seville, in 1667. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 445. Printed in 1672.

***Montescos y Capeletes.**—(*Los Bandos de Verona, Montescos y Capeletes*).—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Bartolome Romerò, before Aug. 3, 1640. Printed in the *Comedias* of Rojas, Part II, 1645.

***Morica garrida (La).**—Juan Bautista de Villegas. Also called *Los Hermanos amantes.*
Represented before October 5, 1623. Printed in *Escogidas*, VII, 1654.

Muchos Indicios sin Culpa.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Sept. 27, 1635. Wrongly ascribed to Calderon, see his *Quinta Parte*, 1694.

Mudarse sin mudarse.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, April 14, 1633.

***Mudo (El) y la Codiciosa.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

***Muerte (La) de Froilan.**—Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon. It is an *auto.*
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo, before Mar. 25, 1637. Published as a *suelta.* There is also a play *San Froilan* by Moreto and Matos.

***Muñecas (Las) de Marcela.**—Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon.
A play bearing this title was in the possession of Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, Nov. 1, 1637. Printed in the author's *Enano de las Musas*, 1654.

Nieto (El) de su Padre.—Guillen de Castro.
Represented by Juan Bautista de Villegas, before Jan. 1623. Printed in *Escogidas*, Part X, 1658.

Ni hablar ni callar.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Aug. 2, 1631.

Niño Diablo (El).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Lorenzo Hurtado, Oct. 5, 1631. MS. copy in Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 2308. Published as a *suelta.*

***No casarse en duda.**— ?
This play was in the possession of Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, Nov. 1, 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 310.

Noche de san Juan (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, in Valencia, before April 26, 1632. Written in 1631 in three days; published in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXI, 1635.

No disgracieis las Mujeres.—
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, July 1, 1637. There is a play *La Obligacion á las Mujeres*, by Luis Velez de Guevara.

No es Reinar como Vivir (sic).—Mescua?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Nov. 17, 1625. This is probably *No hai reinar como vivir*, by Mira de Mescua. Printed in *Escogidas*, XIII, 1660.

No hay Amigo para Amigo (*Las Cañas se vuelven Lanzas*).—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, June 28, 1636; and by Tomas Fernandez, July 1, 1636 and June 27, 1637. Printed in the *Comedias* of Rojas, Part I, 1640.

No son los Tiempos unos.—?
Represented by Domingo Balbin, July 13, 1623.

***No soys vos mi vida para Labrador.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Nuevo (El) en Madrid.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Dec. 25, 1635. There is an anonymous *El nuevo Espejo en la Corte.* The comedia *El Nuevo en la Corte* was represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

***Nuevos (Los) Martires de Argel.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Nunca mucho cuesta poco.—Probably Lope de Vega's *Nunca mucho costó poco.*
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Oct. 28, 1625. Lope's play was published in his Part XXII, Zaragoza, 1630. There is a comedia by Alarcon, *Los Pechos privilegiados*, with the secondary title *Nunca mucho costó poco*, printed in Part II of his *Comedias*, Madrid, 1634. It is entirely different from Lope's play.

Obligar con el Valor.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Aug. 12, 1635.

Obligar por defender.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, June 6, 1631.

Ofender con las Finezas.—Jerónimo de Villayzan.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 5, 1632, and on Nov. 13, 1633. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXX, Zaragoza, 1636.

Ofensas (Las) sin Agravio.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Dec. 2, 1635.

Olimpa y Venus (sic).—Is Montalban's *Olimpa y Vireno.*
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Sept. 11, 1633; and by Juan Martinez, May 2, 1635. Printed in the *Comedias* of Montalban, vol. I, 1635.

***Olla podrida de Amor.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

***Padre Mampassa.**—?
A play in the possession of Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, Nov. 1, 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 310.

Palabras y Plumas.—Tirso de Molina.
Represented by Fernan Sanchez de Vargas, Sept. 14, 1623. Printed in Tirso's *Comedias*, Part I, 1627. The *suma de privilegio* is dated March 12, 1626.

***Palacio (El) confuso.**—Lope de Vega?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. This play, attributed to Lope, was first printed at Huesca in 1634.

Paloma (La) de Toledo.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez on the Sunday following St Michael's day, 1625. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXIX. Huesca, 1634.

Paredes (Las) oyen.—Alarcon.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, July 5, 1636. Printed in Alarcon's *Comedias*, Part I, 1628.

Peligrar en los Remedios.—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, for whom the play was written, on April 6, 1635. The autograph MS. dated Dec. 9, 1634, is in the Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 2552.

Penas del Amor.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, June 3, 1635.

Pérdida (La) de España.—See *Mas (La) injusta Venganza.*

Perdon (El) castigado.—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero, Nov. 22, 1637.

Perfecta Casada (La).—Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon.
It bears the alternative title *Prudente, sabia y honrada.*
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo, before Jan. 23, 1636. Printed in *Escogidas*, XII, 1679. See Cat. Bib. Nac., No. 2583.

Persiles y Sigismunda.—(*Hallarse para perderse.*)—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Luis Lopez, Jan. 31, 1633. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXIX, Valencia, 1636; and XXX, Zaragoza, 1636.

Pincella (La) de Francia (sic).—Lope de Vega.
It is Lope's *La Poncella de Francia.*
Represented by Juan Martinez, Dec. 25, 1636. It is an early play, mentioned in the first edition of the *Peregrino* (1604), and probably now lost.

***Platicante (El) de Amor.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Pleito (El) por la Honra (*y Valor de Fernandico*).—Lope de Vega.
Represented three times by Pedro de la Rosa between June 12, and July 2, 1636. It is the second part of Lope's *La desdichada Estefania*, and was printed in *Doce Comedias nuevas de Lope de Vega y otros*, Segunda Parte, Barcelona, 1630.

Pobreza no es Vileza.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, July 29, 1626. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XX, 1625.

Poder (El) en el Desprecio.—?
Can it be Lope's *El Poder en el Discreto*?
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 30, 1630. The autograph of Lope's comedia is dated May 8, 1623.

Policena (La).—See *Gallarda (La) Policena.*
Represented by Juan de Morales, before May, 1625.

Poncella (La) de Francia. See *Pincella (La).*

***Portento (El) de Milan.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Premio (El) del bien hablar.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in San Lorenzo el Real, before Nov. 18, 1625. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXI, 1635.

Prene y Filomena (sic).—Guillen de Castro? Rojas Zorrilla?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Jan. 10, 1636; by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, June 28, 1636; in the Pardo, Feb. 2, 1637, and by Tomas Fernandez in the Retiro, Feb. 17, 1637. There are two plays entitled *Progne y Filomena*, one by Guillen de Castro, printed in Part I of his *Comedias*, 1618, and one by Rojas Zorrilla, printed in his *Comedias*, Part I, 1640.

Presta Juana (La).—?
Represented by Andres de la Vega, April 17, 1634.

***Principe (El) Don Carlos.**—Jimenez de Enciso? Montalban?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Montalban's play was first printed in 1632; Enciso's appeared as a *suelta* without date.

***Principe (El) ignorante.**—?
Represented by Avendaño before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. Schack, *Nachträge*, p. 67. It is mentioned by Medel, Fajardo and Huerta, who ascribe it to Lope de Vega. It may be *El Principe inocente* noted in the *Peregrino* (1604).

Prision dichosa (La).—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa, Mar. 24, 1636; June 8, 1636 and Feb. 12, 1637.

Profeta falso (El).—(*El Profeto falso Mahoma.*)—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Juan Martinez, May 6, 1635. Printed in the *Comedias* of Rojas, Part I, 1640.

***Prospera (La) Fortuna de Rui Lopez de Avalos.**—Salustio del Poyo. See *La adversa Fortuna.*
Represented by Gaspar de Porres before May 7, 1605. Printed in *Parte tercera de las Comedias de Lope de Vega y otros Autores*, Barcelona, 1612.

***Prudente (El).**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Puente (La) de Mantible.—Calderon.
Represented by Andres de la Vega, before Nov. 23, 1632. Printed in Calderon, *Comedias*, Part I, 1636.

***Purgatorio (El) de San Patricio.**—Calderon.
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Calderon's play was first printed in 1636.

Querer por solo querer.—D. Antonio Hurtado de Mendoza.
Represented by Juan de Morales, May 11, 1623. According to Salvá (Cat., I, p. 641), it was printed as a *suelta* by Juan de la Cuesta, 1623. It is also in *Escogidas*, XXXI, 1669.

Quien agravia no se olvida.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado at Shrovetide, 1628.

Quien está contento es Rey.—?
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 12, 1633.

***Quien mucho viue.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Quien no se aventura.**—Guillen de Castro.
Represented by Avendaño before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack.) MS. copy in Bib. Nac., Cat. No. 2809. Printed in *Libros Españoles raros ó curiosos*, 1878.

Quien tal pensara.—?
Represented by Pedro Valdes, June 5, 1625.

***Rayo (El) de Andalucia ó el Genizaro de España.**—Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon.
Mentioned by Montalban, in his *Para Todos* (1632). Printed in *Enano de las Musas*, 1654. MS. anon. in Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 1381, where it is also called *El mas valiente Andaluz y el Castellano Mudarra.*

***Rayo (El) de Palestina.**—Antonio Enriquez Gomez.
In the possession of Tomas Fernandez, theatrical manager, Nov. 1, 1637. First mentioned in the author's *Samson Nazareno*, 1656. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 310.

Reinar despues de Morir.—(*Doña Ines de Castro ; La Garza de Portugal.*) Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Adrian Lopez, Jan. 8, 1653. Printed in Lisbon, 1652.

Remedio (El) está en la Mano.—?
Represented by Felipe Sanchez de Echeverria, Sept. 1623. See Salva, I, p. 644, *La Respuesta está en la Mano.*

***Rey Angel (El).**—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño before the Queen in Nov. 1622. (Schack.) In the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Perhaps this is *El Rey Angel de Sicilia* of Juan Antonio de Mojica. See Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 2901.

Rey Bamba (El).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Jan. 6, 1629. Printed in 1604.

***Rey (El) don Alfonso el Sabio.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Rey (El) Don Juan en Madrid.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Dec. 28, 1634.

Rey (El) en Mantillas.—?
Represented by Domingo Balbin, July 6, 1623.

***Rey (El) por Fuerza.**—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero, before Aug. 3, 1640.

***Rogar con el propio Bien.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

***Romera (La) de Santiago.**—Tirso de Molina.
Represented by Vallejo before the Queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack.) Printed in *Escogidas*, XXXIII, Madrid, 1670.

Ruiseñores (Los).—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Dec. 4, 1633, and by Juan Martinez, May 14, 1635. Probably Lope's *No son todos Ruiseñores*, printed in Part XXII, 1635: his *Ruiseñor de Sevilla* was printed in 1621.

Saber del Bien y del Mal.—Calderon.
This is Calderon's *Saber del Mal y del Bien.*
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, before Mar. 28, 1628. Printed in Calderon's Part I, 1636.

Saber vencer y vencerse.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, on the Queen of Hungary's birthday, 1635 (before Aug. 22).

Savinas (Las).—?
Perhaps *El Robo de las Sabinas*, by Juan Coello Arias.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, June 24, 1637. Printed in *Escogidas*, XI, 1659.

***San Bruno.**—?
Represented by Avendaño before the Queen, between Oct 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack.)

***San Francisco Javier.**—?
Comedia represented before 1637. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 311.

San Pedro de Alcantara.—(*El Hijo del Serafin.*)—Montalban.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, Nov. 5, 1634 and by Adrian Lopez, Jan. 16, 1653. Printed in Montalban's *Comedias*, Part I, 1635.

Santa Isabel, Reina de Portugal.—Rojas Zorrilla.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Sept. 18, 1631. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638.

***San Jorge.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Perhaps this is *El Catolico Perseo, San Jorge* by Alejandro Arboreda. See Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 546. Or more probably, *El martir valiente en Roma, San Jorge.* Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 2030.

San Julian.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez, June 26, 1636. Perhaps this is Lope's *El Saber por no Saber y Vida de San Julian de Alcalá de Henares*, printed in his Part XXIII, 1638, or Lope's *San Julian de Cuenca*, mentioned in the *Peregrino* (1604).

Santa Taes.—Rojas Zorrilla?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Aug. 5, 1626. In a MS. in the Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 3038, it is ascribed to Rojas (born 1607); in the same Cat., No. 3037, a play with the same title, but entirely different, is attributed to Zarate, but the latter could not have written the above play, produced in 1626.

Segunda (La) de Escanderbeg.—Luis Velez de Guevara?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Jan. 17, 1629.
There seem to be two plays on the subject of Escanderbeg, as the above title indicates. In *Diferentes*, XXVIII, Huesca, 1634, *El Príncipe Escanderbeg* is ascribed to Luis Velez de Guevara. In Part XXVIII, of *Lope de Vega y otros* (*extravagante*), Zaragoza, 1639, the play is ascribed (wrongly) to Lope de Vega. In *Escogidas*, XLV, 1679, we find: *El gran Iorge Castrioto y Príncipe Escanderbec*, attributed in the text to Luis Velez de Guevara, and in the Index to Belmonte. There is also a *suelta* bearing this latter title ascribed to Belmonte. Barrera (p. 467, col. 2, note) referring to *El gran Iorge Castrioto y Príncipe Escanderbec*, says: 'Esta se atribuye mas comunmente á Belmonte. La de Luis Velez parece ser: *El Príncipe Esclavo, y Hazañas de Escanderbeg*, y puede tenerse por segunda parte.' Our comedia would then be Guevara's.

***Segundo (El) Sol de España.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Selva (La) de Amor.**—?
Represented by Vallejo before the Queen, between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack.) Perhaps this is *La Selva de Amor y Celos*, by Rojas Zorrilla, in *Escogidas*, XXXII, 1669.

Selva confusa (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Juan Acacio, July 21, 1623. Printed in Part XXVII (*extravagante*), of Lope, Barcelona, 1633, as Lope's. Schack says it is not his. The autograph of Calderon's play with the same title is in the Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 3071, signed, but undated. Hartzenbusch does not mention this comedia in his edition of Calderon, nor is it recorded by Vera Tassis in the *Verdadera Quinta Parte* of Calderon, either among his plays or among those that had been wrongly ascribed to him. It is a recast of Lope's play.

Selvas y Bosques de Amor.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, May 7, 1623. Printed in Lope's *Comedias*, Part XXIV, 1633.

***Semejanza (La) engañosa.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Señora (La) y la Criada.—Calderon.
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, Nov. 20, 1635. Printed in *Escogidas*, XLVI, 1679.

Señor (El) de Noches Buenas (*Don Enrique de Rincon*).—Alvaro Cubillo de Aragon.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, April 22, 1635. Printed in *Flor de las mejores doce Comedias de los mayores Ingenios de España*, Madrid, 1652, and ascribed to Mendoza. Barrera, p. 704, col. 2.

Sepultura (La) de Doña Ines de Castro.—?
Represented by Juan Martinez, Aug. 30, 1635.

Serallonga (sic). It is *El Catalan Serrallonga y Bandos de Barcelona*, by Luis Velez de Guevara, Rojas Zorrilla and Antonio Coello.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Jan. 10, 1635. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXX, Zaragoza, 1636.

***Serrana (La) de Arravalle.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Serrana (La) de la Vera.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales, June 14, 1623. There are two comedias bearing this title, one by Lope de Vega, and the other by Luis Velez de Guevara. Both were written before 1604.

Si el Caballo bos an muerto.—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo, before Jan. 26, 1632. Barrera adds to the title the second verse of the ballad (Duran, No. 981): *Subid, Rey, en mi caballo.* It also bears the alternative title *El Blason de los Mendozas.* Printed only as a *suelta.*

Siempre ayuda la Verdad.—Tirso de Molina?
Represented by Juan Bautista Valenciano in March, 1623. Printed in Tirso's Part II. Madrid, 1627. It is generally stated that Tirso wrote this play in collaboration with Alarcon.

Sierras (Las) de Valvarena.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Pardo, Jan. 14, 1637.

Si no vieran las Mugeres.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Luis Lopez at Aranjuez, May 1, 1633; and by Juan Martinez, Oct. 5, 1635. Printed in *La Vega del Parnaso*, 1637, and according to Fajardo in Part V of Lope, published at Sevilla.

Sin Peligro no hay Fineza.—?
Represented by Luis Lopez, Jan. 23, 1633.

Sin Secreto no ay Amor.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Nov. 21, 1629. Autograph MS. Brit. Mus. dated July 18, 1626. See my edition of this play, Baltimore, 1894.

Sirena (La) de Napoles.—?
Represented by Juan de Morales before May, 1625; in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. There is a play *La Lavandera de Napoles, Felipa Catanea* (*El Monstruo de la Fortuna*), by Rojas, Coello and Guevara. That a *Lavandera* may be a *Sirena* is, perhaps, not impossible. Diego de Figueroa's *Sirena de Trinacria* is too late.

***Sisne (El) de Alexandria.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Sitio (El) de Breda.**—Calderon.
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628; it was first printed in 1636 in Part I of the *Comedias* of Calderon.

Sufrir mas por Querer mas.—Jerónimo de Villayzan.
Represented by Andres de la Vega, before Nov. 23, 1632 (*Nuevos Datos*, p. 226), and by Bartolome Romero, Oct. 17, 1637, before the King. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXV, Zaragoza, 1632. It appears that Villayzan died in the following year. See Gallardo, *Ensayo*, IV, p. 976.

Tamerlan (El).—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Represented by Juan Martinez, Sept. 16, 1635. It also appeared under the title *La nueva Ira de Dios, y gran Tamorlan de Persia.* Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXIII, Valencia, 1642.

Tanto hagas quanto pagues.—(*La Traicion vengada.*)—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Tomas Fernandez in San Lorenzo el Real, before Nov. 18, 1625. The play has been ascribed to Moreto (born 1618), but the date of this representation shows the error of this ascription. That it was written by Jacinto Cordero (born 1606) is also not very likely. It is probably by Lope de Vega, to whom Chorley was also inclined to attribute it. See my *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 534.

Tener ó no tener.—?
Represented by Alonso de Olmedo before Jan. 23, 1636.

Tierra en Medio.—?
Represented by Tomas Fernandez on St John's day, 1625.

***Tirzo.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Can this be *San Tirso de España* by Lope de Vega?

Todo se sabe.—?
Represented by Roque de Figueroa, Sept. 29, 1633.

Torre (La) del Orbe.—It is *La gran Torre del Orbe, Amadis de Grecia* by Pedro Rosete Niño.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, Nov. 26, 1634.

***Trabajos (Los) de Job.**—Felipe Godinez.
Represented before March 25, 1637. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 265. Printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638.

Tragedia (La) de la Reina de Escocia.—?
Represented by Antonio de Prado, at Shrovetide, 1628. Perhaps this is *La Reyna Maria Estuarda* by Manuel de Gallegos. Published as a *suelta* (?).

Traicion (La) leal.—?
Represented by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro before March 3, 1637.

Trajano (El).—?
Represented by Cristobal de Avendaño, May 21, 1634.

***Trances de Honor.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Transformaciones.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Jerónimo de Villayzan wrote a comedia entitled *Transformaciones de Amor* (see below).

Transformaciones de Amor.—Jerónimo de Villayzan.
Represented by Juan Bautista de Villegas, before January, 1623. It was printed in 1650. See Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 3310.

Tratar mal por querer bien.—
Represented by Andres de la Vega, Sept. 9, 1625.

***Trato (El) en la Aldea.**—?
Represented before March 5, 1602. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 64. See Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 3314.

***Tres (Los) Consejos.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

***Tres (Las) personas de Dios.**—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero before Aug. 3, 1640. *Nuevos Datos*, p. 324.

***Valiente (El) Nardo Antonio.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. Perhaps this is Lope de Vega's *Nardo Antonio, Bandolero.* In the list of Amella's plays it is ascribed to Mira de Mescua, but I have not even noted the ascriptions in this list as they are mostly erroneous.

Valiente (El) Negro en Flandes.—Andres de Claramonte.
Represented by Juan de Morales, Sept. 13, 1626, and again before July 15, 1637. First printed in *Diferentes*, XXXI, Barcelona, 1638.

Valor y necesitad.—?
Represented by Bartolome Romero in the *Salon*, Madrid, January 14, 1636.

***Vencedor (El) vencido en el Torneo.**—?
Represented by Juan de Morales before the Queen between Oct. 5, 1622 and Feb. 5, 1623. (Schack.) Is this perhaps *El vencedor vencido* of D. Juan de Ochoa of Seville? There is a MS. copy of the latter play in the Bib. Nac., Cat., No. 3428.

***Venganza (La) de Tamar.**—Tirso de Molina.
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. It was first printed in 1634.

Venganza (La) y el Amor.—Don Diego de Villegas.
Represented by Manuel Vallejo, Feb. 5, 1623. Printed only as a *suelta.*

***Ventura (La) por el Pie.**—?
Represented by Baltasar Pinedo before Nov. 10, 1614.

Viçarrias (Las) de Velisa.—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Andres de la Vega May 11, 1634 (sic). There must be a mistake here in the date as Lope did not finish this comedia till May 24, 1634, as the autograph in the Brit. Mus. shows. See my *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 357. The money (800 reals) was received by Andres de la Vega on Oct. 29, 1635 for four *particulares* given before the King in April and May, not 1634, but in all probability 1635, as Philip IV seems to have paid promptly for his plays.

***Virgen (La) de los Remedios.**—Calderon.
Represented by Alonso Caballero in Seville, in 1667. Sanchez-Arjona, p. 445. It is probably now lost.

***Virtudes vençen señales.**—Luis Velez de Guevara.
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628. First printed in 1640.

***Vitoria (La) de las Malmas.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

Vizcaina (La).—Lope de Vega.
Represented by Antonio de Prado, January 2, 1623 and by Pedro de la Rosa in the Retiro, before March 3, 1637. The play is mentioned by Lope in his *Peregrino* (1604). It is otherwise unknown and is probably lost.

***Zelos (Los) por la Alabanza.**—?
Comedia in the possession of Jerónimo Amella in 1628.

HUGO A. RENNERT.

NOTES ON THE TEXT OF CHAPMAN'S PLAYS[1].

THE BLINDE BEGGER OF ALEXANDRIA.

Vol. I, p. 8. *Eli.* But are we by our selues.
Mar. I thinke so vnlesse you haue alone in your belly.

For 'alone' read 'a bone.' Cp. *The Historie of King Leir and his three Daughters* (*Shak. Lib.* 331):

Alas, not I: poore soule, she breeds yong bones,
And that is it makes her so tutchy sure.

Also Ford's *The Broken Heart*, II, i, 142:

What think you
If your fresh lady breed young bones, my lord!

P. 12. And so such faultes as I of purpose doe,
Is buried in my humor and this gowne I weare,
In rayne or snowe or in the hottest sommer,...

Place full stop after 'humor,' and proceed:

This gowne I weare
In rayne or snowe...

P. 15. I am spaniard a borne,...

Read: 'I am a Spaniard borne.' The editors, perhaps, have taken the inversion as an indication of foreign methods of speech: but in no other passage does Bragadino adopt the style of the 'Dago.'

P. 24. My Lord I will be sworne he payde him,...

Possibly a pause after 'My Lord' is sufficient to explain this line. Otherwise one might suggest that 'sworne' is disyllabic, and that we should read:

My Lord, I will be sworne [that] he payde him.

P. 24. ...foure thousand pound,
Which I did helpe to tender and hast thou
A hellish conscience and such a brasen forhead,
To denye it agaynst my wittnesse,
And his noble woorde.

The verse may be partially restored if the words 'a hellish conscience' be taken by themselves as a broken line. The rest of the passage then drops easily into pentameters: 'And such...it,' 'Against... woorde.'

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[1] *The Comedies and Tragedies of George Chapman now first collected, with illustrative Notes and a Memoir of the Author.* 3 vols. London, John Pearson, 1873. *The Tragedie of Chabot, Admirall of France...from the Quarto of* 1639. Edited...by Ezra Lehman. (*Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Series in Philology and Literature*, vol. x.) Philadelphia, 1906.

> P. 40. As I was walking in the pleasant weedes,...

For 'weedes' read 'meades.'

AN HUMEROUS DAYES MYRTH.

P. 51. 'Throwt' = 'throughout,' not 'through,' as in Shepherd.

> P. 51. ...I haue clapt her key in waxe, and made this counterfeite, to the which I steale accesse to work this rare and politike deuice:...

For 'to the which' read 'by the which.' For the sake of the verse perhaps we should regard the words 'rare and' as intrusive.

> P. 54. ...*Colenet* you know no man better, that you are mightily in loue with loue, by *Martia* daughter to old *Foyes.*

For 'loue, by,' Deighton would read 'louely'; and, though the necessity for change is not quite imperative, the suggestion gains support from a passage on the next page: '...but *Colenet* go you first to louely *Martia.*'

> P. 63. ...If you will vnworthilly prooue your constancie to your husband, you must put on rich apparrell,...

For 'vnworthilly' should we read 'worthilly'?

> P. 65. *Le.* Good morrow, my good Lord, and these passing louely Ladies.
> *Cat.* So now we shall haue all maner of flattering with Monsieur Lemot.
> *Le.* You are all manner of waies deceiued Madam,...

For the prefix '*Cat.*' read '*Cou.*'

> P. 76. ...nor looke a snuffe like a piannets taile, for nothing but their tailes and formall lockes,...

'Tailes,' accidentally caught from the line above, should perhaps be 'curles.'

> P. 78. Yea my liege, and she as I hope wel obserued, hath vttered many many kind conceits of hers.

For 'hers' read 'her.' Then, for 'as' should we read 'has'? Or should we not rather place the words 'as I hope' between commas? 'Hath' is equivalent to 'he hath'; this dropping of the third personal pronoun masculine is not uncommon. Cp. *Reuenge for Honour* (Pearson, III, p. 354): 'Has slain the Lady.'

ALL FOOLES.

P. 113. *The hidden causes of those strange effects,*
That rise from this Hell, or fall from this Heauen:...

For 'or fall from this Heauen,' read 'from this Heauen fall'?

P. 173. You that can out-see cleere-ey'd ieolousie,
Yet make this slight a Milstone,...

I can see no difficulty in this passage, but apparently it is one of those that win Chapman his reputation for obscurity. Shepherd, in his modernised text, retains the spelling 'slight' (for 'sleight'), and both Shepherd and Phelps transform the 'Milstone' to a 'milestone.'

MONSIEVR D'OLIVE.

P. 201. ...the mugrill of a Gull, and a villaine,...

Shepherd keeps this, though it is obvious—as, indeed, Dilke has evidently observed—that the printer failed to note the dash over the 'u' in the word 'mūgrill.' In *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* (Pearson, II, p. 125) we have the form 'mungrils.'

P. 209. Feare not my Lo: The wizzard is as forward,
To vsurpe greatnes, as all greatnes is:
To abuse vertue, or as riches honor.

For 'wizzard' read 'buzzard.' A buzzard is a fellow blinded by his folly. Cp. *May Day* (Pearson, II, p. 349): '...my assurance is that Cupid will take the scarfe from his owne eyes, and hoodwinke the old buzzard, while two other true turtles enioy their happinesse.'

P. 222. Deare life, take knowledge that thy Brothers loue,
Makes me dispaire with my true zeale to thee:...

For 'dispaire' Dilke gives 'dispense,' and Shepherd 'despair'; but 'to dispair' is to dissociate. The word is not common, but *The New English Dictionary* quotes examples of its use from Sylvester, Beaumont and Fletcher, and Richardson.

P. 235. I did euer dreame, that this head was borne to beare a breadth,...

Deighton would alter 'breadth' to 'brain.' But in *The Widdowes Teares* (Pearson, III, p. 84) the expression 'it beares a bredth' occurs where brains are plainly not in question.

THE GENTLEMAN VSHER.

P. 263. *Enter Lasso, Corteza, Margaret, Bassiolo, Sarpego, two Pages, Bassiolo bare before.*

But Corteza and Margaret do not enter until later. See p. 265: '*Enter Corte., Margarite, and maids.*'

P. 313. *Lass.* Madam, in this deed
You deserue highly of my Lord the Duke.
Cor. Nay my Lord *Medice*, I thinke I told you
I could do prettie well in these affaires:...

For the prefix '*Lass.*' read '*Med.*'

P. 319. This Duke will shew thee how youth puts downe age,...

Place a comma before and after 'Duke.' 'This' is either the scene to follow, or, perhaps, the window or balcony overlooking the stage.

P. 329. See pretious Loue, if thou be it in ayre,...

For 'it' read 'yet.'

P. 332. O would to God, I could with present cure
Of these vnnaturall wounds; and moning right
Of this abused beautie, ioyne you both,
(As last I left you) in eternall nuptials.

Omit the semicolon after 'wounds'; and for 'moning right' read 'mouing sight.'

BUSSY D'AMBOIS.

Vol. II, p. 82. ...but vsually
Giues that which she calls merit to a man,
And beliefe must arriue him on huge riches,
Honour, and happinesse, that effects his ruine;...

Deighton ingeniously suggests: 'And he lief must arride him on huge riches.' But when a man has fortune's gift of merit, self-confidence, or belief in that merit, is just what is likely to produce the result referred to in the text—and the life of D'Ambois affords instant example. If any change be necessary, it is the substitution of 'belive' for 'beliefe.'

THE REUENGE OF BUSSY D'AMBOIS.

Pp. 143–4. ...you can neuer finde
Things outward care, but you neglect your minde.

If the text be correct, 'things' is possessive; but in that case the meaning of 'finde' is somewhat strained. I have suggested (see *Bussy D'Ambois and The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, ed. F. S. Boas, 1905, p. 301) that the true reading may be 'things out worth care,' in which case 'out' stands for 'outward.' So 'in' = 'inward' in *Bussy D'Ambois* (Pearson, II, p. 9):

Braue Barks, and outward Glosse
Attract Court Loues, be in parts ne're so grosse.

BYRON'S CONSPIRACIE.

P. 186. ...his countries loue,
He yet thirsts: not the faire shades of himselfe:...

For 'faire shades' Deighton would read 'fierce hates.' But 'the faire shades of himselfe' are surely the images of himself invested with royal dignity.

P. 230. And we had thought, that he whose vertues flye
So beyond wonder, and the reach of thought,
Should check at eight houres saile,...

Should we read: 'And we not thought...'?

P. 235. Till in the fresh meate, at his naturall foode
He sees free fellowes, and hath met them free:...

For 'meate' read 'meade'.

THE TRAGEDIE OF CHARLES DUKE OF BYRON.

P. 256. To your vnmatcht, and more then humaine winde;...

For 'winde' in this passage and on p. 314, Deighton wishes us to read 'mind.' To me it appears that 'wind' means 'mind' and more—it is the imaginative spirit of a man. The word occurs again in *The Widdowes Teares* (Pearson, III, p. 65):

What a slaue was I
That held not out my windes strength constanly,
That shee would proue thus?

P. 282. I was enforc't to play the Marshall,
To order the retreat:...

Read: '...the Marshall [too],'...

P. 302. Mindes must be found, that iudge affaires of weight,
And seeing hands, cut corosiues from your sight.

For 'found' read 'sound.'

P. 303. I must confesse my choller hath transferd
My tender spleene to all intemperate speech:
But reason euer did my deeds attend.
In worth of praise and imitation,
Had I borne any will to let them loose,
I could haue flesht them with bad seruices,
In *England* lately, and in *Switzerland*:...

Should not the full stop after 'attend' change places with the comma at the end of the following line?

P. 314. I bring a long Globe, and a little earth,...

'Bring,' as Deighton notes, should be 'being.' For 'long' perhaps we should read 'lone.'

P. 316. ...I haue neuer past act gainst the King,
Which if my faith had let me vndertake,
They had bene three yeares since, amongst the dead.

One might possibly make a desperate defence of this reading: I prefer the attack. Omit 'They' and the comma after 'since.' We must then take 'had' as equivalent to 'he had' ('h'ad'). The printer probably supplied what he considered the missing subject. See, for a similar insertion of an unnecessary pronoun, the next passage quoted,

P. 318. Thou seest I see not? yet I speake as I saw.

Read: 'Thou seest I see not, yet speake as I saw.' 'Speake' is equivalent to 'speakest.'

MAY-DAY.

P. 324. ...what paper is that he holds in hand trow we?

For 'trow we' read 'trowe' (probably printed in the proofs as 'tro we' and expanded by the printer's reader).

P. 324. *Lor.* A farre commanding mouth.
Ang. It stretches to her eares in deede.
Lor. A nose made out of waxe.

The words 'made out' are clearly an interpolation; they entirely spoil Lorenzo's verse.

Pp. 330–1. But then thou must vse thy selfe like a man, and a wise man, how, how deepe soeuer shee is in thy thoughts, carry not the prints of it in thy lookes;...

Shepherd omits the first 'how.' Rather place a full stop after 'wise man,' and continue: 'How! how deepe soeuer...'

P. 349. ...well may beauty inflame others, riches may tempt others;...

Perhaps: 'Well, beauty may inflame others;...'

P. 352. *Ang.* There is one little snaile you know, an old chimney sweeper.
Lor. What, hee that sings, Maids in your smocks, hold open your locks, fludgs.
Ang. The very same sir,...

For 'fludgs' read '[*Sings*].' The only letter which is unaccountably intrusive is the 'd.'

P. 360. Let my man reade how hee deserues to be bayted.

For 'my' read 'any.'

P. 366. ...perseuer till I haue yonder house a my head, hold in thy hornes, till they looke out of *Quintillianoos* forehead:...

One would expect 'my' instead of 'thy,' unless we should read: 'perseuer till I have yonder house. A, my head, hold in thy hornes, till they looke out of *Quintillianoes* forehead.'

P. 366. ...y'aue past the pikes yfaith, and all the Iayles of the loue-god swarme in yonder house, to salute your recouery.

For 'Iayles' read 'toyles.'

P. 386. A poxe vpon thee, tame your bald hewed tongue,...

For 'bald hewed' read 'gall-dew'd' (?).

P. 387. ...that perl's man *Lodowicke*,...

It should hardly be necessary to point out that 'perl's' is a contraction of 'perilous' (*i.e.* 'parlous'); but if some of my notes seem obvious, I can only say that at least they correct the misconceptions of the unhappy Chapman's editors. What did Shepherd understand by 'that pearl's man'?

P. 390. Ancient Surloigne, a man of goodly presence, and full of expectation, as you ancient ought to bee,...

For 'you' read 'your.'

THE WIDDOWES TEARES.

Vol. III, p. 16. *Lurd.* Your Honour shall doe well to haue him poison'd.
Hiar. Or begg'd of your Cosen the Viceroy.

For 'begg'd' read 'beg't.'

P. 40. ...yet vow I neuer to assume other Title, or State, then your seruants :...

Shepherd prints 'servants': modernised, it should be 'servant's.'

P. 41. ...if shee be gold shee may abide the tast,...

Shepherd alters 'tast' to 'test,' unnecessarily. See Nares.

P. 49. I feare [me] we must all turne Nymphs to night,...

So Shepherd: but 'feare' is disyllabic.

P. 54. This straine of mourning with Sepulcher, like an ouerdoing Actor, affects grosly,...

'With' = 'wi'th'.' No need of Shepherd's '[in a].'

P. 60. O I haue lost my tongue in this same lymbo.
The spring ants, spoil'd me thinkes; it goes not off
With the old twange.

Shepherd seems to have discovered here some reference to a vernal emmet. Yet he modernises correctly a line on p. 78:

No, Ile not lose the glorie ant.

P. 61. But I will make her turne flesh and bloud,...

'Turne' is disyllabic. Shepherd's '[to]' must go.

P. 65. Come, bring me brother.

For 'me' read 'my.'

P. 67. Thou shalt, thou shalt; though my loue to thee
Hath prou'd thus sodaine...

It would be easy to normalise the former line by reading '[al]though': but, in our old dramatists, breaks in the line often mark a pause or change of tone.

P. 69. Die? All the Gods forbid;...

This speech should be printed as verse.

P. 70. Not for this miching base transgression
Of tenant negligence.

Deighton's emendation ('truant' for 'tenant') is supported by a passage on p. 80, where a soldier who has discovered Lysander's place of concealment says: 'My truant was mich't Sir into a blind corner of the Tomb.' Cp. also the well-known 'true tenant' of *Philaster*. Similarly, Deighton's correction of 'all' to 'ill' on p. 71, receives support from an error on p. 49: 'But your lookes, mee thinkes, are cloudie; suiting all the Sunne-shine of this cleare honour to your husbands house.'

Pp. 74–75. The passages printed as prose should be re-arranged as verse.

P. 76. Thou, false in show, hast been most true to me;
The seeming true; hath prou'd more false then her.

Query: 'She, seeming true, hath prou'd more false then thou'?

P. 76. Assist me to behold this act of lust,
Note with a Scene of strange impietie.
Her husbands murtherd corse!

Semicolon at 'lust,' commas at 'Note' and 'impietie.'

P. 76. ...my stay hath been prolong'd
With hunting obscure nookes for these emploiments,
The night prepares away; Come, art resolu'd.

Full stop at 'emploiments.' For 'away' read 'a way.'

CAESAR AND POMPEY.

P. 128. For fall of his ill-disposed Purse....

A syllable has dropped out. Query: '[so] ill-disposed'?

P. 131. 2. What? honor'd *Cato*? enter, chuse thy place.
Cat. Come in;
He drawes him in and sits between Caesar and Metellus.
—Away vnworthy groomes.
3. No more.

I am not sure that we should not read:

2. What! honor'd *Cato*! enter, chuse thy place,
Cato, come in;...

P. 150. Suspected? What suspection should feare a friend...

One may hint that the substitution of 'suspect' for 'suspection' would improve the verse, though no editor should dare to make such a change.

P. 157. All which hath growne still, as the time encrease
In which twas gather'd, and with which it stemm'd.

Read 'encreas['d]'?

P. 183. Tis more than *Ioue* euer thundred with.

Read: '[hath] euer thundred with.'

P. 191. *Cor.* O my Lord, and father, come, aduise me.

For '*Cor.*' read '*Por.*'

P. 193. How durst ye poyson thus my thoughts? to torture
Them with instant rapture.
Omn. 3. Sacred *Caesar.*

Read: '[Bear] them with instant rapture.'

ALPHONSUS, EMPEROUR OF GERMANY.

P. 218. I'l prove it with my Sword,
That English Courtship leaves it from the world.

For 'leaves' read 'beares.'

P. 223. What? what the Empress accessary to?

Instead of 'What! what! the Empress accessary too!' Elze, from whose edition Shepherd reprints, has 'What? Was the Empress accessary to't?' But in the modernised version of this play there are many errors, pardonable to a German, but beyond excuse in an English editor. Thus on p. 225 occurs:

How easily can subtil age intice,
Such credulous young novices to their death?

'Novices' is practically disyllabic; Elze and Shepherd quietly drop 'their.' On p. 235 they alter 'fallace' to 'fallacy,' and contract 'they have' to 'they've'; on p. 241, 'schuce' (=''scuse') is rendered by them 'juice.' And so on.

P. 243. *Alphon.* This dangerous plot was happily overheard,
Here didst thou listen in a blessed howr.

These two lines are spoken not by Alphonsus, but by Alexander.

P. 278. Why stand you gasing on an other thus?

For 'on an other' read 'one on other.'

REVENGE FOR HONOUR.

Elsewhere (*Sydney University Library Publications*, No. 2) I have given reasons for my belief that this play is a burlesque, cunningly planned to bring unsuspected ridicule upon a stage-struck gull. The ingenuity of the plot, so different from the stately uncomplicated narrative of Chapman's greater tragedies, is not so far removed from the construction of *Alphonsus*. It seems to be the result of a carelessly deliberate deference to popular taste. The style is quite unpoetic, and the printer rightly insists by beginning his lines with lower case that the piece is in pentameter prose.

P. 291. How do you like your General, Prince,
is he a right Mars?

Read '[the] Prince'?

P. 292. Well then... My gracious brother,...

Here, as elsewhere, (pp. 312, 313–314, 316, 328, 356), Shepherd, guessing truly that a passage is prose, does not recognise its formal value as *blank* prose.

P. 292. ...the greatest maladie
than can oppress mans soul.
Sel. They say right.

Read: 'that can oppress [a] man's soul.'

P. 301. *Abr.* You imagine me
beyond all thought of gratitude; and doubt not
that I'll deceive your trust.

Query: omit 'You'? Deighton would alter 'deceive' into 'deserve'; but 'doubt' = 'fear.'

P. 303. we leave them a Successor whom they truly reverence:...

Probably, but by no means certainly, we should omit 'them.'

P. 304. Such a prince as ours is,
...should not be expos'd
to every new cause, honourable danger.

Read: 'every new cause' honourable danger.'

P. 306. 'Tis confess'd, all this a serious truth.

Shepherd alters 'a' to 'as,' though the abbreviation of 'this is' to 'this' is not uncommon. Similarly, 'that it' becomes 'that,' as on p. 307: 'Not that I think it wil, but that may happen.' On p. 325 we read 'Let' for 'Let it': 'Let go round.'

P. 309. *Abr.* Alone the engine works
beyond or hope or credit.

Read: 'Alone! The engine works...'

P. 315. But Lady, I till now have been your tempter,
one that desired hearing, the brave resistance
you made my brother, when he woo'd your love,
only to boast the glory of a conquest
which seem'd impossible, now I have gain'd it
by being vanquisher, I myself am vanquish'd
your everlasting Captive.

Repunctuate thus:

But, Lady, I till now have been your tempter,
one that desired, hearing the brave resistance
you made my brother when he woo'd your love
only to boast, the glory of a conquest
which seem'd impossible; now I have gain'd it;
by being vanquisher I myself am vanquish'd,
your everlasting Captive.

P. 316. *Abil.* By my command hee's mustring up our forces.
Yet *Mesithes*, go you to *Abrahen* and with intimations
from us, strengthen our charge.

Rearrange:

By my command
hee's mustring up our forces. Yet, *Mesithes*,
Go you to *Abrahen*...

P. 321. My Brother,...
the beast of lust (what friends would fear to violate)
has with rude insolence destroyed her honor,
by him inhumane ravished.

Read:

My Brother,...
the beast of lust, what fiends would fear to violate
has with rude insolence destroy'd, her honor,
by him inhumane ravish'd.

P. 324. *Sel.* No quarrelling good Couzens, lest it be
with the glass,...

For 'lest' read 'less.'

P. 328. to summon him to make his speedy appearance
'fore the Tribunall of *Almanzor*;
so pray you execute your office.
Tar. How one vice
can like a small cloud...

The words 'so pray' should be printed at the end of the preceding line.

P. 341. *Mu.* His life
is faln the off-spring of thy chastitie,
which his hot lust polluted:...

i.e. his execution is the result of his pollution of thy chastity; but, perhaps, for 'off-spring of' we should read 'offring to.'

P. 348. Love, *Mesithes*,
is a most stubborn Malady in a Lady, not cur'd
with that felicity, that are other passions,...

most likely 'felicity' should be 'facility.' The words 'in a Lady' are the original misprint of 'Malady'; the compositor, in restoring the true word from the corrected proof, did not perceive the necessity of cancelling its substitutes.

P. 348. it has pass'd
the limits of my reason, and intend
my wil, where like a fixt Star 't settles,
never to be removed thence.

For 'intend' Shepherd substitutes 'indeed'; this is unsatisfactory; so are the only emendations I can suggest—'in th' end,' or 'enter'd in.'

P. 355. and thus I kiss'd my last breath.

For 'kiss'd' read 'kiss' (='expend in a kiss').

P. 356. I thought 'twould come to me anon:
poor Prince, I e'ne could dy with him.
Abil. And for those souldiers, and those our most faithfull
Muts, that once my life sav'd, let them be
well rewarded; death and I are almost now
at unitie. Farewell.

Rearrange: (1) 'I thought...Prince,' (2) '...souldiers,' (3) '...sav'd,' (4) '...and I,' (5) '...Farewell.'

THE TRAGEDIE OF CHABOT.

Act I, l. 303. With passionate enemies, and ambitious boundlesse
Avarice...

Very likely 'ambitious' should be 'ambitions.'

Act II, l. 89. And such an expectation hangs upon't.
Though all the Court as twere with child, and long'd
To make a mirror of my Lords cleare blood,...

For 'though' read 'through.'

L. 113. I wake no desart, yet goe arm'd with that,
That would give wildest beasts instincts to rescue,
Rather than offer any force to hurt me;
My innocence is, which is a conquering justice,
As weares a shield, that both defends and fights.

I agree with Shepherd that 'wake' should be 'walk,' but object to his omission of 'is.' For 'weares' read ''twere.'

L. 142. Brave resolution so his acts be just,
He cares for gaine not honour.

Read: 'Brave resolution! so his acts be just, He cares for gaine nor honour.'

L. 199. And all my fortunes in an instant lost,
That mony, cares, and paines, and yeares have gather'd.

For 'mony' Shepherd reads 'money'; my preference goes to 'many cares.'

L. 285. And he that can use actions with the vulgar,
Must needes embrace the same effects &
cannot informe him;...

After '&' there was perhaps an illegible word; the compositor sent to the reader to ask him what it was; the reader's marginal note, 'cannot informe him,' has found its way into the text. Mr Lehman says 'inform' means 'mend.'

L. 305. like foiles
They shall sticke of my merits tenne times more.

In the modernised version, 'of' should be 'off.'

Act III, l. 247. ...a man so learned, so full of equity, so noble, so notable in the progress of his life, so innocent, in the manage of his office so incorrupt...

Comma after 'notable'; omit comma after 'life.'

Act IV, l. 168. But where proportion
Is kept to th' end in things, at start so happy
That end set on the crowne.

For 'set' read 'sets.'

Ll. 293–294. This was too wilde a way to make his merits
Stoope and acknowledge my superior bounties,
That it doth raise, and fixe e'm past my art,
To shadow all the shame and forfeits mine.

Read: '...past my art To shadow; all the shame and forfeit's mine.'

L. 369. what a prisoner
Is pride of the whole flood of man?

Read: 'Of pride is the...'

Act V, l. 271. There doomesday is my conscience blacke and horrid,
For my abuse of Iustice,...

Read: 'There doomesday is—my conscience, blacke and horrid For my abuse of Iustice,...'

L. 483. Pompey could heare it thunder, when the Senate
And Capitoll were deafe, so heavens loud chiding,...

Read: 'were deafe to heaven's loud chiding.'

J. LE GAY BRERETON.

A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY PATERNOSTER

BY AN ANGLO-FRENCH SCRIBE.

THE following Middle-English version of the Paternoster, written in a late thirteenth-century hand (MS. No. 82, fol. 271 b, Cathedral Library of Sarum), was contributed by Sir E. Maunde Thompson to *Englische Studien*, Vol. I, p. 215:

> Hure wader þat is in euene þyn name beyn ehd. bring us þi kinriche to. al þi [misprinted 'pi'] wille wurth i do. Deilich brid þu iuestu. an hure kultes war þifus also we do im þe al kilt us. Brunk us ut of hiwel vonhnic an weres hus vram eh ivel þynhc. Amen.

That the spelling of this document is remarkably peculiar and inconsistent is obvious at the first glance: we have *brid* for *bread* or *bred*, *kultes* by the side of *kilt*, *bring* in one case, *brunk* in another, and *hiwel* followed by *ivel* in the next line. A closer examination reveals certain of the features which Professor Skeat has dealt with in detail in a paper read before the Philological Society, on May 9, 1907, on the *Proverbs of Alfred* (printed by Morris in his *Old English Miscellany*), and in his recent editions of this poem and of *Havelok the Dane*, and which he regards as being undoubted marks of the work of an Anglo-French scribe, that is, of a scribe who was of French birth or who had had an entirely French education, and was consequently imperfectly acquainted with the grammar and vocabulary of English.

In the text before us, there are several instances in which it is doubtful what words the scribe intended to write, so little does he seem to have understood the English phonetic system. It will be better to consider these before attempting to classify the orthographic peculiarities of the forms he uses.

1. *beyn ehd* is no doubt misdivided, but a re-division into *be ynehd* does not yield an intelligible form for the second word. A possibly correct emendation is *yhehd*, passive participle of *heȝen* (O. E. *hēan*),

'to exalt.' I do not, however, find the original *sanctificetur* translated thus in any Paternoster of similar date, the usual word being *yhalȝed.*

2. *iuestu* is very obscure; it is perhaps for 'ȝif us to' = 'give to us,' but *tu* for 'to' is a substitution not easy to account for.

3. *war þifus* is wrongly divided; read *warþif us* = 'vorȝif us.'

4. *al kilt* is the greatest difficulty in the whole text. I can only suggest that the scribe meant *agylte, agulte* (past tense = 'offended'). The low-back element in the pronunciation of *ā*- may have given a Frenchman the impression of an *l.*

5. *vonhnic.* We must read *vonhinc* = 'vonding.'

6. *weres* appears to be a downright blunder for *were,* imperative of 'werien' (= 'to defend'), probably due to confusion with the 2nd person singular indicative. (It is hardly likely to be a form of 'warish = Anglo-French *warir, wariss-,* Old Fr. *garir, gariss-.*)

The following characteristics, which have been noted by Professor Skeat in the places above-mentioned, are exhibited in this little text:

1. Initial *h* is omitted in *euene, im.*
2. Initial *h* is added in *hure, hus, hiwel.*
3. *w* is used for *v* in *wader, warþif, hiwel.* Cf. *frowere* = 'frofre' in *Prov. Alfr.* 54 *et al.* But Professor Skeat has no instance of initial *w* so used.
4. þ for ȝ in *warþif.* Cf. *þif* for *ȝif* in *Prov. Alfr.* (several times).
5. *nk, n(h)c* for *ng,* in *brunk, vonhinc, þynhc.* Cf. *Prov. Alfr.* 36: *kinc* = 'king.'

Besides these we have:

6. Medial *h* inserted in *vonhnic, þynhc.*
7. Final *h* for *ch* in *eh.*
8. Initial *k* for *g* in *kultes, kilt* (= 'gultes,' '-gulte').
9. ȝ dropped initially in *iuestu.*
10. *u* for *i* (= O. E. i) in *brunk.* This spelling is doubtless due to confusion of the high-front-narrow *i* with its rounded correlative, French *ü.*

There are two other points that make in the same direction. One is the use of the syllable *war*- (familiar initially in a number of Anglo-French forms like *warantir*) instead of *vor,* in *warþif.* The other is the syntactical anomaly in *Hure wader þat is,* where the native idiom of the period would have required 'þat art.'

[Professor Skeat, to whom I submitted the above notes, has been good enough to send some valuable suggestions. He thinks that the original form of our specimen was metrical. He would restore it as follows (comparing the rhyming paternosters in *Reliquiae Antiquae,* vol. I, pp. 22, 57, 169):

Úrë váder þat ís in héuenë,
þy námë bé yhéhed [éuenë]:
bríng us þí kinríchë tó;
ál þi wíllë wúrthe i-dó;[1]
[on érthe as ís in héuene alsó.]
Deílich bréd þu ȝíf us tó;
And úrë gúltës vórȝif ús,
Áls(o)[2] wé do hém þe agílten ús.
Bríng us út of ível vondíng
And wére us vróm ech ível þíng.

C. Talbut Onions.

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[1] *do*, *also* is a bad rime ; but actually occurs in the Paternoster, *Rel. Ant.*, I, 57.
[2] Much better *als*, for the metre.]

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

'WAYTE WHAT' = 'WHATEVER.'

IN the *N. E. D.*, under *Look*, 4 b [*look* prefixed to interrogative pronoun or adv., or relative conj., forming indefinite relatives = *whoever, whatever, however*, etc.], Mr Bradley observes: 'The absence of examples between the 12th and the 16th c. is remarkable; the idiom was prob. preserved in some non-literary dialect.' No doubt, because the phrase is, in most cases, so easily understood without the reader being aware that it is an idiom, many instances must have been overlooked. Is there any edition of *Measure for Measure* where a note points it out in this line: '*Look what* I will not, that I cannot do' (II, ii, 52)? And in fact, the idiom occurs in Chaucer, though not with 'look,' yet with its synonym 'wait':

> *Wayte what* thing we may nat lightly have,
> Ther-after wol we crye al-day and crave.
> *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 517.

A POSSIBLE SOURCE OF CHAUCER, 'CANTERBURY TALES,' A 4134 AND D 415.

The source of the two lines:

> With empty hand men may na haukes tulle,

and

> With empty hand men may none haukes lure,

may be the following passage:

> Car si cum li loirres afaite
> Por venir au soir at au main
> Le gentil espervier à main,
> Ainsi sont afaitié par dons
> A donner graces et pardons
> Li portiers as fins amoreus.
> *Roman de la Rose*, ed. P. Marteau, ll. 7820–5.

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

NOTES ON 'THE FAIRE MAIDE OF BRISTOW[1].'

Line 126. Who cares where Harbart be or frend or foe.

Mr Quinn suggests a comma after 'be,' but it would only introduce ambiguity. 'Where' is the common contraction of 'whether.'

228. That I would entertain this as my man.

There can be but little doubt that 'this' should be 'thee.' The resemblance of this line to one quoted in the introduction from *The Miseries of Enforced Marriage* is therefore greater than at first appears.

265. Tho he be blunt yet is very honest.

Mr Quinn would insert 'he' before 'is.' But 'he' is not unfrequently omitted before 'is.' And, even if the irregular nature of the prosaic lines in this play did not warrant a scarcely metrical verse, we might still regard this line as a passable pentameter: 'Thó | he bé | blunt yét | is vér | y hónest.'

626. Although I am no kinsman to lament,
In your distres my grief as deeply spent.

Mr Quinn boldly prints 'grief['s]'; but there is at least a possibility that for 'as' we should read 'is.'

685. It is euen thus, well what remedy:

There is a strong presumption that we should read 'Is it.'

989. And harder than the Penerian rockes.

Mr Quinn suggests the 'Pierian rockes.' I believe 'Penerian' is a misprint for 'Pirenean.'

1073. I haue hard a man
Urged by nessesity to lead his frend,
Or to redeeme his person with his owne,
But to find one will die for a frend,
This age we liue in doth not now aford.

For 'lead' read 'lend.' I have taken the liberty of transferring 'a man' from the beginning of l. 1074 to the end of l. 1073.

1078. send hence the other to their sentence domd.

No need to read, with Mr Quinn, 'other[s].' 'Other' is used as a plural pronominal form.

1206. This kind contryssion of yong Vallenger,
More toyes my hart then rest to travelers.

In black-letter there is frequently a confusion of 'i' and 't.' For 'toyes' we should read 'ioyes.'

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[1] *The Faire Maide of Bristow.* Edited by A. H. Quinn. Philadelphia, 1902.

1219. Let her be had among the Conuertines.

'Convertine' is so rare a word that the compilers of the *N. E. D.* could find only one example of it. But, as the upholders of Collier's theory of *The Faire Maide's* authorship will be glad to point out, that one example is from Day's *Law Trickes*, Act I, sc. 2:

Did not true learning make the soule diuine,
She hath spoke enough to make me conuertine.

J. LE GAY BRERETON.

MILTON, 'SAMSON AGONISTES,' 373.

M. Alas, methinks whom God hath chosen once...
He should not so o'erwhelm....
S. Appoint not heavenly disposition, father.
Nothing of all these evils hath befallen me
But justly.

The meaning of the word 'appoint' presents some difficulty. The *N. E. D.* explains it as 'impute blame to,' but the only other instance which it gives of such a use of the word is obviously no instance at all. The meaning is, I think, 'prescribe or determine the course of,' 'pin down to a fixed course.' Cp. *Areopagitica* (towards the end): 'Neither is God appointed and confined where his chosen shall be first heard to speak.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

CHARLES LAMB, 'ESSAYS OF ELIA.'

(1) In the essay *Oxford in the Vacation*, as it originally appeared in the *London Magazine* (II, p. 368), Lamb wrote: 'D. commenced life, after a course of hard study in the "House of pure Emanuel," as usher,' *etc.* The passage was omitted when the *Elia Essays* were reprinted in 1823. Canon Ainger included it in brackets in his edition of the *Essays*, but printed the concluding words: 'after a course of hard study in the house of "pure Emanuel," as usher' *etc.* It is clear that he was not aware of the source of Lamb's quotation, the poem of Bishop Richard Corbet called *The Distracted Puritan*, of which stanza 2 runs:

In the house of pure Emanuel
I had my education;
  Where my friends surmise
  I dazeled mine eyes
With the light of revelation.

Chalmers' *English Poets*, v, 586.

(2) In *Christ's Hospital Thirty-five Years Ago:* '...to hear thee unfold...the mysteries of Jamblichus, or Plotinus.' This is the reading of the paper as it originally appeared in the *London Magazine*, II, p. 489, as it was reprinted in 1823, and as it stands in Canon Ainger's edition. I think, however, that Lamb's meaning would probably be made more obvious if in future 'mysteries' were printed 'Mysteries.' The reference is, I suppose, to the work of Iamblichus, *De Mysteriis Ægyptiorum, Chaldæorum, Assyriorum.*

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

DRYDEN'S 'PARALLEL OF POETRY AND PAINTING.'

In Dryden's *Parallel of Poetry and Painting* (1695), he translates a passage from Hippocrates 'as I find him cited by an eminent French critic.' Professor Ker has been unable to identify this critic (*Essays of Dryden*, II, 134, note). It may possibly be worth while to note that the critic is André Dacier, and that the passage occurs in the preface to his translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (1693).

J. E. SPINGARN.

REVIEWS.

The Shirburn Ballads, 1585–1616. Edited from the MS. by ANDREW CLARK. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1907. 8vo. viii + 380 pp.

This is one of the most interesting publications of the year. It appeals to the antiquarian, to the historian, to the student of music, and above all to the student of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature. Not that the Shirburn collection brings only new ballads: on the contrary, the number not known from other sources forms only a small part of the eighty songs it contains. The interest lies in the fact that at this time of day it brings so many new ballads, that the collection is so representative, and that it offers new texts of well-known ballads. The title is, in reality, not quite correct, the volume containing more than the title-page promises. After the *Shirburn Ballads* come, by way of supplement, a number of ballads taken from the Bodleian MS. Rawlinson poet. 185. Mr Clark prints these evidently under the impression that they have not been published before. In this, however, he is mistaken: Herr Wilhelm Bolle published the whole collection in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, Vol. CXIV, p. 326 ff. Mr Clark omits eight of the ballads without saying so. His text proves to be far more correct than Herr Bolle's; most of the mistakes in that text, pointed out by me in the *Archiv*, CXVI, p. 374, do not occur in the present edition, which appears to be very accurate and to reproduce the original exactly.

The *Shirburn Ballads* are printed from a manuscript in the Earl of Macclesfield's library at Shirburn Castle. In his Introduction, the editor says that the present volume 'exhibits the actual text of the MS. in its present order with the minimum of change or omission,' and further on that he 'left the text practically untouched.' In these words 'minimum' and 'practically' lurks a danger; there are then changes and omissions, if only a minimum of them. Personally I object in these cases to any change or omission, but I am aware that though omissions are always unwarranted, there may be reasons for changes; but—and here Mr Clark differs from the majority of modern editors—if alterations have to be made, they must be scrupulously indicated as such. I am practically convinced that this edition is a very accurate one, but I have not absolute certainty. In the Introduction Mr Clark gives particulars about the MS., about the relation of the *Shirburn Ballads* to other collections of ballads, and about the contents of the poems and their dates. Each of the ballads is prefaced by a separate introduction giving many historical and, above all, antiquarian details, mentioning the occurrence of the songs in other collections, and sometimes offering information on the subject of the metres and the tunes. This information is supplemented by an alphabetical list of tunes with references to Chappell's *Old English Popular Music* (old edition), and Oxenfoord Macfarren's *Old English Ditties*, followed by an 'Index of First Lines.' On the whole, more stress is laid upon the antiquarian and historical importance than upon the literary and musical. No, or hardly any, attempt is made to find parallels or connections between these and other ballads, neither as regards contents, nor as regards form and tune. Little notice has been taken of the various collections of ballads that have appeared in print, with the exception of the *Roxburghe Collection*. The book is excellently printed and illustrated with facsimiles of old prints, about which the editor, however, gives no further information. The ballads are, of course, given in the order in which they appear in the MS.; this involves in a few cases separation of companion pieces, for instance in the case of XXX and L, LI and LXXVI. Of the many new ballads which the collection brings, a few may be mentioned here. No. X 'Of a maide nowe dwelling at the towne of *Meurs* in *Dutchland*, that hath not taken any foode this 16 yeares, and is not yet neither hungry nor thirsty' is, as the editor says, probably nothing but a pamphlet put in metre. The subject was a well-known one on the continent. That in England also the story enjoyed popularity is evident from the frontispiece which is a facsimile of a contemporary print; the stanza on it shows that the text must have been different. No. IV is a spirited love-song which Mr Clark, while acknowledging that it is tuneful, rather harshly condemns. No. XXI is a roaring drinking-song, beginning 'Come hither, mine host, come hither!' No. XXIX is interesting for its intricate stanza and lively story 'of the mery miller's wooing of the Baker's daughter of *Manchester*.' Religious ballads are not wanting, *e.g.*, XL and XLIII, but they are inferior in form and music to the secular songs. The historical ballad is represented by No. LX on the capture of Calais, and by No. LXVII, a song on the taking of Berg on July 30 by 'Grave Maurice.' It is evidently a rimed translation of a faithful report of this important feat of arms, which was also sung in one of the so-called 'Geuzenliederen,' that is, 'Songs of the Beggars' (No. CLXVI of Lummel's Collection). I do not believe, however, that the English ballad is a translation of one of these songs, it being altogether different in spirit. Perhaps the most interesting number is LXI, 'Mr Attowel's Jigge: betweene Francis, a Gentleman; Richard, a farmer; and their wives,' a very spirited dramatic sketch in four parts set to four different tunes. As Mr Clark points out the Mr Attowel is in all probability the actor Attewell who died in 1621. In the

Appendix there is a similar ballad-drama, written to one tune only for the four acts. Only a small number of the poems rise above mediocrity, regarded from a purely literary point of view.

A few words may be said on the history of some of the ballads and their tunes. Nos. III, X, XVI, XLIX, LXXI, and LXXII are all written to the tune of *The Lady's Fall.* There is a great deal of information about this tune in Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, edited by H. E. Wooldridge, under *The Hunt is up*, *Peascod time*, and *Chevy Chase* (I, 86–92). Chappell and his editor have, however, failed to point out the similarity of this tune to that of *Gather ye Rosebuds* (Chappell, I, 196). In the song of *The Hunt is up*, printed by Chappell, there is internal rime in the first and third lines of each stanza; this, however, is not essential: none of the songs in the *Shirburn Ballads* written to this tune show a similar arrangement. Internal rime is absent in the song of *Gather ye Rosebuds*, which differs from *The Hunt is up*, etc., in having a weak rime at the end of the second and fourth line. In the *Rump Songs*, Part I, there is on p. 350 a song entitled '*The four Legg'd Elder; or a Relation of a Horrible Dog and an Elders Maid.* To the Tune of *The Ladies fall;* Or *Gather your Rose Buds*, and 50 other Tunes.' It has no internal rime. In *Monsieur Thomas*, III, 3, the fiddler mentions among the ballads he can sing, *Ye Dainty Dames*; these are the first words of '*A Warning for Maidens*, to the tune of *The Ladies fall*,' *Roxb. Coll.*, I, 501. Cp. *Notes and Queries*, 10th S., VI, 224.

No. IX, *Labandalashot.* This puzzling tune is also found in Clement Robinson's *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* (Arber's Reprint, p. 57): *A sorrowfull Sonet, made by M. George Mannington, at Cambridge Castle. To the tune of Labandala Shot.* Both the poems set to this tune are serious in tone. Of course, the name is a corruption; I hesitate to suggest 'La branle à la Scot' which may have found its way back to England by way of Holland, where 'branle' became 'brande' (see Land, *Luitboek van Thysius*, pp. 347 ff.). No. XX consists of a second part only, which is to be regretted, for the measure is lively, and the whole rather sweet. The refrain is formed by 'With a Hononanero hone'; a similar refrain, 'O hone, hone, o no nera,' is referred to in *Eastward Hoe*, V, 1, 9. In *Shirburn Ballads*, LXXVII, written to another tune, we have the refrain, 'O hone, honinonero, tarrararara, tarrararara hone'; and in XXXV written to the tune of *Oh hone* the refrain is 'Oh hone, hone analergo, alergo, tararalergo hone.' Similar to this again is the refrain of *Upon the Gun-powder Plot*, in *Choice Drollery*, p. 40. Cp. *The Irish Ho-Hoane* in Chappell, I, 85 (1893). No. I is written to the tune of *Bragandary.* 'A newe songe of the *triumphe of the Tilt*,' in the *Stationers' Registers* for March 28, 1604, is to the tune of *Braggendarty.*

No. XXVIII, *In Creete.* The fiddler in *Monsieur Thomas*, III, 3, says he can sing: *In Creet when Dedimus first began.* The opening lines of the song are: 'In Crete when Dædalus first began His strait and long exile to wail.' According to a correspondent in *Notes and Queries* (10th S., VI, 1906, 223) the song may be found in Harl. MS. 7578, fol. 83.

No. XXIX, *Nutmegs and Ginger.* In *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (I, 4) Merrythought sings:

Nose, nose, jolly red nose,
And who gave thee this jolly red nose?
Nutmegs and ginger, cinnamon and cloves;
And they gave me this jolly red nose.
(*Mermaid Series.*)

It deserves notice that No. LXXV is written to the tune of *The Miller would a wooing ride*, reminding us of the opening lines of XXIX, 'The miller, in his best array, would needs a wooing ride.' The metre, however, is altogether different. No. XXXII, *Pagginton's Round.* This popular dance tune is invariably called *Packington's Pound*, but from being used in dancing 'rounds' may have come to be named *Packington's Round.* In Starter's *Friesche Lusthof* it is called *Peckington's pond* (p. 14 of Van Vloten's edition). In *Het Luitboek van Thysius* the name has been corrupted to *Pacce tous pon* (No. 74). In the *Roxburghe Ballads* (Ebsworth, V, 37) occurs a song to the tune of *On the Banks of a River*, or *Packington's Pound.* From *Bartholomew Fair* it appears that country-dances were danced to this tune (cp. Chappell, I, 259; Land, *Luitboek*, p. 84). No. LII begins 'All in a garden green,' but is altogether different from the song in Chappell, I, 79, that begins with the same line:

All in a garden green,
Two lovers sat at ease:
Withdrawn where they could scarce be seen,
Among the leafy trees.

The *Excellent Song of an outcast Lover* in *A Handful of Pleasant Delights* to the tune of *All in a Garden Green*, is also in the stanza of the song in Chappell.

No. LIII, *Pitty, pittye me.* This is perhaps connected with *A pleasant new Ballad of Daphne. To a new tune. Roxburghe Ballads* (Ebsworth), II, 529–31, with its refrain:

Pittie, O Daphne, pittie, O pitty me:
Pittie, O Daphne, pittie me.

The words are by Thomas Deloney, and may be found in his *Garland of Delight* (1681); also in *The Royal Garden of Love and Delight* (1674). The tunes cannot have been identical; compare those in Valerius' *Nederlandtsche Gedenck-Clanck* (1626) under the title of *Prins Dafne*, p. 212, and in Starter's *Friesche Lusthof* (1634), p. 155. See, on the variation of tunes, Chappell's *Old English Popular Music*, edited by H. E. Wooldridge, p. 86, editor's note in the text. In the introductory note to No. LIX (*What if a day, or a month, or a year*) the editor says that 'the verses are found also in a Bodleian MS., MS. Rawlinson poet. 112, fol. 9, and are there attributed to "E. of E." ? Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex.' This statement is not quite correct: the poem is on f. 10^v and f. 11. The verses attributed to the E. of E. are on f. 9, and are probably in a different hand. For full particulars about this popular song I refer the reader to my article in *Modern Philology*, IV, pp. 397–422, in which periodical I shall also deal at greater length with the form of this poem in the *Shirburn Ballads*. No. LXXIV is written to the tune of *An Oyster Pye*, or *Robinson's Galliard*. There is another dance that bears Robinson's name, viz., *Robinson's Allemande*. In 1603 there appeared in London *The Schoole of Musicke*, by Thomas Robinson. Cp. Land, *Luitboek van Thysius*, p. 285.

In conclusion, a word about the footnotes. They contain partly corrections of the text, partly elucidations. As regards the explanations, more might have been expected. To give a few examples, *poore peat* on p. 303, *tole-dish* on p. 217, *courtnoules* on p. 218, should have been explained. Occasionally the editor would seem to have misunderstood the Elizabethan idiom; for instance, he corrects 'even soone at night' into 'even this very night.' All lovers of the old ballads and all students of Elizabethan and Jacobean literature owe Mr Andrew Clark a debt of gratitude for this interesting volume.

A. E. H. SWAEN.

The Rhetoric of John Donne's Verse. By W. F. MELTON. A Dissertation submitted to the Board of University Studies of the John Hopkins University. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Co., 1906. 8vo. 206 pp.

It may be remembered that the volume called *An English Miscellany*, compiled in honour of Dr Furnivall in 1901, contained a paper *Concerning Grammatical Ictus in English Verse*, by Professor J. W. Bright, in which some remarkable views of English verse-construction were expounded. These views were combated in a letter written by Professor H. C. Beeching to the *Athenaeum* of June 1, 1901, but apparently with little effect in modifying Professor Bright's standpoint. They have also recently been discussed by Mr Omond in his *English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*. It is not possible here to give an exposition of Professor Bright's teaching as regards English verse. In brief, it may be said that he will not allow there is such a thing as 'inversion of stress' in English iambic verse[1]. Every second syllable must have a stress, whether this is in accordance with the ordinary pronunciation of English or not. We must not scan:

> Be in their flowing cups | fréshly | remembered,

but:

> Be in their flowing cups | freshlý | remembered;

nor:

> To be or not to be | thát is | the question,

but:

> To be or not to be | that ís | the question.

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[1] He apparently makes an exception in favour of the first foot, and so, as Mr Omond says, gives away his case.

A secondary stress derived from the form of the word in earlier English is supposed to be latent in terminations such as those of 'freshly,' 'doubtful,' 'garden,' 'waters,' ready for the poet's use when he cannot write his lines without recourse to this aid. Professor Bright has expounded these views orally as well as in print, and his pupils have seen a vista of endless dissertations to be manufactured by the simple process of applying their professor's principles to every English poet in turn. Mr George Dobbin Brown has written his dissertation on *Syllabification and Accent in Paradise Lost* (1901), Mr Raymond Durbin Miller his on *Secondary Accent in Modern English Verse* (*Chaucer to Dryden*) (1904), and now Mr Wightman Fletcher Melton follows with his 206 pages on the *Rhetoric of the Verse of Donne.*

The whole treatment is a case of 'petitio principii.' When it is said that Donne's verse is often rough, what is meant is that in reading it one often finds that to give the natural stress to the poet's words is to obscure the rhythm of his verse. But if we once allow that in poetry, it is not necessary to give a word its natural stress, but that one may remove the stress at will from the root-syllable to the suffix, the roughest verse becomes at once perfectly regular. This is the process which is here adopted, with a rare degree of self-satisfaction on the part of the writer.

Mr Melton's method tends to close his eyes to the real phenomena of Donne's verse. When verse is rough, the cause often lies in the fact that two or more feet of abnormal construction (*e.g.* with weak stress or inverted stress) occur together. There would only be a sense of pleasing variety if one such foot had stood alone, but the collocation of two or three causes the reader to lose the rhythm of the line. Mr Melton takes the case of a stress laid on a preposition such as 'of,' and has no difficulty in showing that even in Shakespeare and other poets, 'of' may bear a secondary stress. But he does not point out that whereas in Shakespeare an irregular foot is generally isolated, in Donne such feet occur in juxtaposition to one another. There is an enormous waste of labour in finding parallels for lines which present no metrical difficulty, and no discrimination is made between such lines and lines that do.

Mr Melton takes (p. 111) the lines:

If they be two they are two so
As stiff twin compasses are two.

To me the first line seems somewhat abnormal owing to the slight stress which must be given to 'are,' and the practically even heavy stress which must be given to 'two so.' Mr Melton accents in the mechanical manner enjoined by Professor Bright:

If théy be twó thĕy áre twŏ só,

and goes on his way rejoicing. Other lines have their irregularities smoothed out with the same flat-iron: *e.g.*

Than whén wĭnds ín our ruin'd abbeys roar—
Both thé years ánd thĕ dáys dĕep midnight ís—

Kiss Hím, and with Him into Egypt go—
No hand among them to vex thém again—
And I which was twŏ fóols do so grow three—
Who áre a little wise, the best fools be.—
I hate that thing whispérs itself away.

This system of dealing with verse is so simple and obvious that it hardly requires to be illustrated in 200 pages.

What, again, are we to make of this? After quoting a sentence from Donne's thirteenth Sermon: 'That world, which finds itself truly in an autumn, in itself, finds itself in a spring in our imagination,' Mr Melton continues: 'Here we see thirteen words taking the place of twenty, and it is no extravagance to fancy the Dean of St Paul's delivering his thought in this fashion:

That wórld which *fínds ĭtsélf*
Trúly *ín* an autumn *ín ĭtsélf*
Fĭnds ítsĕlf ín a spring
Ĭn our imagination.'

(The italics, whatever their meaning, are Mr Melton's own.)

Here is a specimen of Mr Melton's method of determining the authenticity of a poem on metrical considerations (p. 173): 'The first lines of *To the Praise of the Dead, and the Anatomy* (Chambers, II, 102) will convince one that Donne did not write it; *world*, for example, appears four times, always in arsis, and with no companion-sound in thesis. Two lines (21–22) both have and have not Donne's "measure":

Enough is us to *práise* them *thát praĭse* thee
And say, *thăt* but enough those *praíses* be.

This arsis-thesis variation of *praise*, and *that*, is to be found in Donne, to be sure; but it is also in Shakespeare. The repeated word *enough*, with the first syllable in thesis and the second in arsis, both times, is not in Donne's manner and therefore furnishes the solution.'

But enough. We can only say that we regard this as one of the most laboriously worthless dissertations we have ever seen.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

Table des Noms Propres de toute nature compris dans les Chansons de Geste imprimées. Par ERNEST LANGLOIS. Paris: Bouillon, 1904. 8vo. xx + 674 pp.

The present volume was prepared in competition for a prize offered by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. Its usefulness is so great that to leave the book unmentioned or to pass it by with a few generalities of criticism would be unjustifiable. Hundreds of scholars have been for years supplying the lack of such a work the best way they could. Accordingly they welcome with joy the large and handsomely printed catalogue of Professor Langlois.

The work appeared too early in the year to include *Anseïs de Mes*, which was published by E. Stengel, at Greifswald, in May, 1904. It ought, however, to have contained *Hervis de Metz*, by the same editor as *Anseïs*, published at Dresden in 1903, and also the admirable *Chanson de Willame*, published at the Chiswick Press, London, in June, 1903. *Aspremont* certainly should not have been omitted, in spite of the fact that only a very few copies are extant of the abandoned edition by Guessard and Gautier (Paris, 1855).

I venture to add a few criticisms and suggestions.

At the close of note 4 of p. 12, add: '*Prise de Cordres*, p. xlix ss.' P. 46, note: the statement is made that the *Siège de Barbastre*, which is unpublished, offers the name *Argente* as the name of a river. This name, in the MS. 1448 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, is written: *darente*, = *d'Arente* (fol. 157 v°). I notice also a stream *Tarante* (fol. 137 v°). This stream is reached three days after passing Pampeluna. P. 71, under *Basile*, change 1204 to 1203. P. 90, second line and note 1: the author is mistaken in ascribing the epithet in question to Bernart. The unpublished MSS. as well as published texts are full of evidence on this point. The editor shows the same inability to grasp the situation in the note at the bottom of p. 94. If the Berart de Senliz of *Raoul de Cambrai* mentioned on p. 86 is the same as Bernart de St Liz, he is the same as Bernart de Brubant, if we may trust *Foucon de Candie*, MS. 25,518 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. The reference to the *Romania*, in note 1, p. 98, contains an error. Under *Brubant*, p. 117, mention should be made of *Abrubant*, already cited, which may be an error for *a Brubant*. On p. 154, the reference to Codroé in *M. A.* should read: 3035. On p. 155, after *Comains*, the statement should read: 'Amiral, cousin germain du roi de Bile.' In a number of cases, the compiler should have united various personages under one head, as, for example, Foucon No. 17 and Fouque No. 22. As a matter of fact, the *nef* mentioned under the first name is a reference to an important episode of the hero Fouque 22. The variant given under No. 17 should be *Fouchier*. Gautier li Dieus, p. 269, is probably an error for Gautier li Vieus, and, as the editor suggests, is the same as Gautier No. 20. The statement in note 2, p. 271 concerning Gautier de Termes and Gautier de Blaives, etc., is true only for the lamentable edition of the *Covenant* of Jonckbloet and the MSS. of London and of the Bibliothèque Nationale 24,369. The other MSS. seem to be consistent. The Gyrart d'Aminois mentioned on p. 280, is to be combined with Girart No. 63. In the MSS. of *Foucon*, Beuve is occasionally said to be *d'Aminois*. Girart is his son. Under the Girarts, No. 52 should be combined with No. 63. On the other hand, a division must be made in No. 63, for the references from *Foucon*: pp. 4, 6, 15–19, do not refer to Girart de Commarchis, but to Girart de Danemark, a totally different hero. With regard to note 2, p. 302, it is to be remarked that Gerart (or Girart) is the person meant in the best MSS. The only ones to show *Guerins* are MSS. 774, 1449, and 368 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, which all belong to one family, and a poor family at that[1]. On this same page, Guerin Almanois should be mentioned under Garin d'Anseüne, for they are one and the same person. On p. 284, the reference to Girart de Roussillon under *Og.* 9618 is erroneous; that in the sixth line of the page should read: 12,693. The name Guibert de Terragone (p. 303) appears as Gibert de Teracone in the good MS. 1448. This personage is lacking in the unique MS. of the Boulogne *Covenant.* With regard to the note at the bottom of this page, the first conjecture of the editor is doubtless the correct one. In fact, the reading *rois* occurs in MS. 1448 of the poem concerned, while the line is lacking in the MSS. of London, Boulogne, Berne and in 24,369. Note 1 at the bottom of p. 317 is probably in error. The MSS. which mention Guielin in the passage cited all mention with him Bertran, which would make of Guielin a son of Bernard. The MS. of Boulogne supports this by speaking of Guielin de Braibant. Huc de Florinville (pp. 353, 354) is said on p. 91 of *Foucon* to be a Norman, a statement which seems to be supported by the *Siège de Barbastre,* MS. 1448, fol. 149 v°. This is a point of considerable interest. There is an error in note 2, p. 359. Instead of XIV, read XVIII. On page 478, tenth line from the bottom, the figure 2596 is erroneous. Three lines further down, 3641 should be 3644, and, near the end of the same line, insert 4551. In the first line on p. 479, insert 7063, and, in the third line, 365. On p. 480, the variant of l. 410 is quite important, and indicates Naime of Bavaria. On p. 552, the first reference in the third line from the bottom should read: 7546. On p. 573, insert an article: 'Rondel, nom de cheval. R¹ 333.' On p. 585, the reference from *R. C.* under Saint Jacque is defective. Add to the note on p. 578: 'Cf. le *Codex de St.-Jacques-de-Compostelle,* Fita et Vinson, Paris, 1882, p. 8; aussi *Romania,* XI, p. 499, note 4.' The compiler has at times an awkward way of separating the references to personages, as for example Jaques (p. 368), and Saint Jacque (p. 585), which represent the same person. The recent discovery of the *Chanson de Guillaume* makes clear that the Tiebaut d'Arabe listed on p. 84 of *Aliscans* is Tibaut de Berry or de Bourges, and the same person as Tiebaut No. 19. It is likely, too, that Nos. 19 and 21 are in origin one and the same person. Tibaut de Berry or de Bourges also is mentioned in *Foucon* (see notice by me in *Modern Philology,* III, p. 228). The fact that the name Tibaut is spelled *Tebalt* on page 140 of *Gui de Bourgogne* should be indicated. On p. 633, it is stated that Termes is the château of Guillaume in the vicinity of Orange. There exists, to my knowledge, no evidence permitting us to locate this château. Torserose, mentioned on p. 648, is for Tortolose, and should be so indicated. This town is named in the Boulogne *Covenant,* and seems to be written *Toulose* in the *Covenant* of Berne (fol. 19 r°). On p. 661, under Valfondée, 2, the reference to *Al.* should read: 155.

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[1] The MS. of Berne has *Guilins* in this line (fol. 12, r°). This reading can hardly be correct, for the name should count for three syllables, as elsewhere written in the MS.: *Guielin*. In the passage corresponding to l. 708 of the printed edition, this MS. has *Gerin*.

The *Table des Noms Propres* is one of the most carefully constructed works of reference of recent years. It is invaluable to the searcher in the epic literature of France and in related fields. A scholar who has this book on his shelves will find that he will consult it more often than almost any other volume on epic sources.

RAYMOND WEEKS.

The Poetical Works of John Keats. Edited with an Introduction and Textual Notes by H. Buxton Forman. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1906. 8vo. xxx + 492 pp.

In the number for January last year we had occasion to notice Mr E. de Sélincourt's excellent edition of Keats. Now another one-volume edition has been published, containing the whole of Keats's known works in verse, including sixteen lines of *The Eve of St Mark* not previously published and a facsimile of the holograph leaf containing the hitherto lost passage. There are a few other illustrations, including the tracing by Keats of a Grecian Urn, and it need hardly be said that the volume is pleasantly printed. We miss an alphabetical list of titles, which would have been of far more use than the present 'Contents,' the extent of the separate works being already indicated throughout the text by means of half-titles and head-lines.

Mr Buxton Forman's present issue of the text of Keats is neither unannotated nor exhaustive in the matter of variant readings; he gives a selection. The choice must have been a difficult one to make, and there does not seem to be any particular reason why a selection was needed. The general reader prefers, and will continue to prefer, a smaller and an unencumbered page; the student prefers, and will continue to prefer, Mr Buxton Forman's own complete variorum edition, published by Messrs Gowans and Gray, of Glasgow, some few years ago, at a price which enabled every student to possess it. That edition, and the Library edition which preceded it, will continue to have the affection of all lovers of Keats. Be that as it may, we may extend a welcome to the present volume for its particular qualities: its type is pleasanter and less tiring to the eyes than that of the Glasgow volume; the notes are, practically, confined to variants; there are type-facsimile titles of Keats's three books; there is a useful bibliography; and the Introduction, chiefly bibliographical, contains all that readers 'need to know' concerning Keats's volumes, before they begin to read them.

We are glad to hear that Mr Buxton Forman, in retiring from his official duties, is proposing to spend his leisure in continuing the work of perfection he has carried on for many years to the benefit of all lovers of Keats and Shelley. In the edition under notice it was deemed advisable, in order to meet the needs of those for whom the book was intended, 'to amend for the sake of reasonable uniformity.' We feel sure that Mr Buxton Forman, in the new impressions of his Library edition which he will certainly produce, will return to his earlier and more salutary practice; let us hope that he may even abandon his alteration of Keats's past participles, recording the presumed intention in a footnote; in any case, may his labours on the text of Keats and Shelley continue for many a long year.

A. R. Waller.

Anthologie des Poètes Français Contemporains (1866–1906). Morceaux choisis, accompagnés de notices biographiques et bibliographiques, par G. WALCH, avec préface de SULLY-PRUDHOMME. 3 volumes. Paris: Delagrave, 1907. 16mo.

Cette anthologie nous offre un tableau de toute la poésie française contemporaine depuis Théophile Gautier jusqu'à Auguste Dupouy, que l'Académie couronnait l'an dernier. Tous les poètes actuellement vivants ont choisi eux-mêmes dans leurs œuvres les pièces qu'ils ont jugées les meilleures; et ce n'est pas le moindre attrait de ce recueil, d'y trouver les poésies d'écrivains qui se sont fait un nom dans d'autres genres comme A. Daudet, Guy de Maupassant, Jules Lemaitre, quelques pièces exquises, où s'exercait la muse juvénile d'Edmond Rostand et d'Anatole France; mais on ne saurait nommer les 250 poètes dont cette anthologie contient un choix. Depuis quarante ans en effet s'est épanouie en France la plus magnifique floraison de poètes et d'œuvres qu'on ait vue depuis la Renaissance.

A quoi en attribuer les causes? Au développement de la culture peut-être; mais surtout au renouveau de prestige que Lamartine, Vigny, Hugo et tous les poètes de la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle ont valu à la poésie elle-même: jamais la Muse n'a été plus honorée, parce que jamais elle n'a donné plus de gloire ou d'honneurs. Toutefois ce n'est point par l'imitation stérile de leurs glorieux devanciers que nos poètes contemporains ont prétendu rivaliser avec eux. La recherche de l'originalité et le culte même de la beauté les ont amenés à renouveler les sujets et les formes poétiques. En 1866 de jeunes poètes se groupèrent autour de Leconte de Lisle, le maître alors incontesté de la poésie française, et prenant le nom de Parnassiens ils publièrent leurs vers dans le recueil du *Parnasse Contemporain*, qui marque une date importante dans l'histoire de la poésie contemporaine. Malgré la différence des tempéraments et des talents, ils se firent remarquer par quelques traits communs, le respect de leur art, le goût de la philosophie ou de l'histoire, et surtout par le culte de l'expression, la science de la facture. Ils prétendirent rivaliser avec la peinture par l'intensité des couleurs, avec la sculpture par la vigueur des reliefs et la fermeté même de l'exécution,—poésie plastique, comme on a dit, et puissamment objective. Telle fut la conception de Théophile Gautier, de Leconte de Lisle, de Théodore de Banville, et même des poètes philosophes de cette école, de Sully Prudhomme ou encore de Madame Ackermann dont un fin critique (voir *Madame Ackermann* par Marc Citoleux, Paris, 1906, Plon) analysait récemment l'esprit si profond et si vigoureux.

Vers 1880 des tendances nouvelles s'affirment; sous l'influence de Stéphane Mallarmé et de Paul Verlaine, de jeunes poètes tels que Jules Laforgue, Paul Fort, Gustave Kahn rêvent d'une poésie qui soit la synthèse de la philosophie, des arts plastiques, et surtout de la musique, seule capable d'exprimer dans leur imprécision et leur illogisme même les sentiments fugitifs et les plus intimes de l'âme au contact des choses. Qu'on lise par exemple dans cette anthologie les poésies d'un Henri de

Régnier, d'un Albert Samain, d'un Maeterlinck, et l'on comprendra que l'effort des symbolistes et des décadents n'a pas été vain : ils ont voulu réagir contre les formes trop arrêtées, trop dures de la poésie parnassienne ; ils ont réussi à rapprocher et à réconcilier la poésie et la vie et ils ont su rendre les nuances délicates et mystérieuses des choses. 'Henri de Régnier note d'imperceptibles apparitions, de fugitifs décors ; une main nue qui s'appuie un peu crispée sur une table de marbre, un fruit qui oscille sous le vent et qui tombe, un étang abandonné, ces riens lui suffisent, et le poème surgit, parfait et pur. Son vers est évocateur...' Cette définition qu'un ingénieux écrivain, M. Rémy de Gourmont, a donné du talent du maître peut expliquer les louables efforts des disciples : ils ne se soucient pas de peindre ou de modeler, ils veulent 'évoquer.'

Mais pour réussir ils ont essayé de modifier l'instrument, d'assouplir le vers, la versification et le vocabulaire de la poésie ; car il s'agissait pour eux, comme pour Mallarmé, 'de faire penser, non pas par le sens même du vers, mais par ce que le rythme, sans signification verbale, peut éveiller d'idée ; d'exprimer par l'emploi imprévu, anormal même du mot, tout ce que le mot par son apparition à tel ou tel point de la phrase et en raison de la couleur spéciale de sa sonorité, en vertu même de sa propre inexpression momentanée, peut évoquer ou prédire de sensations immémoriales ou de sentiments futurs.' Les audaces de ces jeunes réformateurs soulevèrent des protestations. Il leur a manqué de se justifier non par des pièces méritoires—elles abondent—, mais par une œuvre de grand mérite qui consacre leurs revendications et enlève l'approbation du public. Mais encore, que valent leurs œuvres, si courtes ou si fragiles qu'elles puissent être,—et leurs doctrines, si téméraires qu'elles paraissent ? L'Anthologie de M. Walch nous donne le moyen de nous faire une opinion, en nous livrant les pièces du procès. Les extraits de chaque poète sont précédés d'une notice biographique et bibliographique d'une grande valeur. Où trouver ailleurs une source aussi abondante de renseignements plus précis ?

Le recueil est précédé d'une curieuse préface de Sully-Prudhomme ; l'admirable auteur des *Vaines Tendresses* y résume avec sa netteté habituelle le mouvement poétique de cette fin du XIX^e^ siècle, dont il est et restera le plus digne représentant et dont il fut le témoin le plus attentif et le juge même le plus autorisé. Car il n'a jamais cessé de suivre les efforts des novateurs, par curiosité sans doute, mais en quelque sorte par devoir et pour défendre ce qu'il considère comme les fondements inébranlables de notre poésie. Il reprend dans cette préface de l'*Anthologie* des idées déjà développées en 1901 dans son *Testament Poétique*; mais cette fois, adoucissant la sévérité de la doctrine parnassienne il se montre prêt à des concessions sur l'hiatus, sur la rime et leur alternance. Il serait curieux de rapprocher de ces déclarations le programme très modéré de Pierre de Bouchaud (tome III, p. 235) auquel je me rallierais volontiers.

Si j'ai besoin d'excuse pour m'être un peu longuement étendu sur cette anthologie, je citerai la juste et fière déclaration de Sully-Prud-

homme dans sa préface: j'ai trouvé là 'l'occasion de réagir contre la fâcheuse impression faite sur les étrangers par certains échantillons de notre littérature exposés dans les librairies. Les productions hâtives et malsaines y supplantent trop les ouvrages sérieux. Cette anthologie est de nature à détruire une impression si funeste au bon renom de la France.'

F. Gohin.

Gil Vicente. Auto da Festa. Obra desconhecida, com uma explicação previa pelo Conde de Sabugosa. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1906. 8vo. 129 pp.

Some years ago the Conde de Sabugosa found among the other treasures of his famous library a little volume stamped on the outside with the title *Varias Crusid*[*ades*], which contained a number of old Autos in 'folha volante,' printed in the latter half of the sixteenth century. The collection, which he was good enough to show me when I was at his house at Cascaes last November, is as valuable as it is curious, for it includes the *Auto do Nascimento de Sam João* by Fernão Mendes, a hitherto unknown dramatist of the school of Gil Vicente, the *Auto de Sam Vicente* and the *Auto de Santiago* by Antonio Alvarez, the *Auto de Natural Invençam* by Antonio Ribeiro Chiado, the three last regarded as utterly lost, an edition of the *Auto da Barca do Inferno* by Gil Vicente, differing widely from that published in his collected works, and finally, an unknown piece of his, entitled the *Auto da Festa.* It is the last which the noble author of *O Paço da Cintra* has now issued in an edition of fifty copies, adding a facsimile reprint to his critical transcription of the text, and preceding the whole with a learned and lucidly penned introduction in ten chapters, dealing with Gil Vicente and his works.

As is well known, Gil Vicente wrote most of his plays either on occasion of some religious festival like Christmas, or to celebrate a birth or marriage in the royal family, or simply for the entertainment of the Court[1]. They were staged by their author, who himself acted in them, and some, including possibly the *Auto da Festa*, were printed in 'folha volante,' even during his life; but the supposed complete collection was only published in 1562. After the performance of his last piece, the *Floresta de Enganos*, at Evora, in 1536, Gil Vicente began to gather together his various writings for the press, at the request of King John III, but death came to him in the following year before he had completed his task. His son thereupon continued it, adding all the missing plays and lyrics he could meet with; but the absence from the edition of both the *Caça de Segredos*, which Gil Vicente tells us he wrote, and the *Auto da Festa*, proves that he failed to include all. A second edition, emended by the Inquisition, appeared in 1586, a third, reproducing the first, at Hamburg in 1834, and a fourth and last, reproducing the third, in Lisbon in 1852. The two first editions are very rare, all are unsatisfactory, and a critical edition, for which ample printed, though no manuscript materials exist, is urgently needed.

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[1] See *The Portuguese Drama in the Sixteenth Century: Gil Vicente*, in the *Manchester Quarterly*, July and October, 1897. In view of recent discoveries the biographical portion of these articles requires revision. Cf. *Gil Vicente*, by General Brito Rebello. Lisbon, 1902.

The full title of the play now restored to literature in a handsome volume is as follows, in the original: *Auto da Festa. Auto nouamente feito por Gil Vicente, e representado, em o qual entrão as figuras seguintes, S. primeiramẽte a Verdade, hum Vilão, duas Ciganas, hũa per nome Lucinda e outra Graciana, e hum Paruo e outro Vilão per nome Janafonso e hũa Velha, e hum Rascão, q̃ quer casar com a Velha, hum Pastor per nome Fernando e tres moças Pastoras, hũa per nome Mecia e outra Caterina e outra Filipa.* Over the title is a rude woodcut of a man and two women, but neither the date nor the place of impression are given. A passage in the play confirms Gil Vicente's authorship, and goes on to say that he wrote it when he had passed the age of sixty, which, presuming him to have been born in 1470, would mean after 1530, and the present editor gives his reasons for fixing 1535 as the year of its representation. He thinks it was composed in honour of D. Francisco de Portugal, Conde de Vimioso, and played in his house at Evora, the city of learning and elegance, during the festival of Christmas; and the dramatist's relations with that famous statesman, soldier and courtier, who befriended Damião de Goes, and was named the Portuguese Cato, make the supposition very plausible. This Conde de Vimioso was one of the best poets of the Cancioneiro de Resende, and he compiled a book of reflections under the title of *Sentenças,* published in 1605, which Senhor Mendes dos Remedios has recently reprinted in Vol. 7 of his useful series of *Subsidios para o estudo da Historia da Litteratura Portugueza.*

Returning to the *Auto da Festa,* Vicentean students hardly need the declaration at the beginning and in the body of the play to determine its authorship, because Gil Vicente's peculiar manner and style, philosophy and scepticism, even his types and modes of speech, are all to be found in it. Moreover, there are a number of passages in the *Auto da Festa* analogous to those in other plays, the most striking being the lines beginning 'Quero ora cuspir primeiro,' about one hundred of which are repeated almost word for word from the *Templo D'Apollo* produced in 1526[1].

The argument is as follows. Truth personified enters, salutes the master of the house where the piece is to be played (the Conde de Vimioso?) and speaks the prologue. She complains that after travelling over a great part of Spain, chiefly in Portugal[2], and finding mendacity everywhere triumphant, she hied her to Court for hospitality, but no one would even look at her, and she laments that the man who speaks verity in the palace is at once deprived of the king's favour[3]. She has heard, however, that she will find a friend in that house, and proposes to take up her abode there. First a Beira peasant enters with a complaint against his local magistrate, who had imprisoned him for adulterous intercourse with his wife; the yokel admits the charge, but pleads the lady's consent and asks Truth to help him to win his case; but she tells him his only resource is bribery[1], and he retires dissatisfied. Next appear two gipsies[2] intent on thieving, but they conclude that begging, accompanied by flattery and fortune-telling, will be safer and more profitable, and, after a song, Graciana begins to practise her arts on the master of the house and the male guests, while Lucinda pursues the ladies. Getting nothing they apply to Truth, who, however, tells them she makes small account of flattery and turns them out of the house. On their departure there comes along singing a witty country fellow (Parvo) in search of his mistress's porker, which has run away while he played, and spying Truth he takes a fancy to her and offers her marriage on the spot. After an amusing dialogue between them a villain, Janafonso, enters in the guise of a palmer, imparls with the Parvo, casts ridicule on pilgrimages and clerical morals, and winds up patriotically, 'He a mais ruim relé esta gente de Castella.' While they are sparring with one another, the Parvo's mother, a widow, appears, and roundly abuses him for losing his pigs, but he repays her threats with others, and leaves her to lament the trouble such a son causes. However, her thoughts are soon turned elsewhere by a smooth tongued page (Rascão) who sees she prides herself on her charms, and guessing that she would not be averse to a second husband[3], he plans to take advantage of her. He praises her beauty and youth and tells her she ought to marry, to which she replies:

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[1] See *Obras de Gil Vicente,* ed. 1852, vol. II, pp. 384—388.

[2] The term Spain is properly applicable to the whole Peninsula. So the Archbishop of Braga continues to style himself 'Primaz das Hespanhas.'

[3] Cf. the dialogue between Todo o Mundo and Ninguem in the *Auto da Lusitania.*

já me a mim mandou rogar
muitas vezes Gil Vicente
que faz os autos a el Rei[4],

but she had refused him. The page asks why, saying:

Pois he elle bem sesudo,

but the old dame replies:

He logo mui barregudo
E mais passa dos sessenta.

We can imagine the laughter which this sally of the poet at his own expense must have caused among the audience. The page next offers himself as a husband, and when the widow promptly accepts him, he pretends to go through the ceremony there and then, disregarding her wish to have it performed in church; but on hearing her name, he declares they are related in the fourth degree and cannot marry. The widow is not to be baulked, however, and says she made a mistake in her name, but as the page is not convinced, she hastens away to get absolution from the Nuncio who is a friend of hers; in her absence the page makes merry over pleasure-loving old ladies, and departs well pleased with the success of his trick. At this point the villain returns, and pours out to Truth his complaints against the lack of justice in the world, and says some hard things of the Court. No sooner has he finished, than the old widow returns dressed as a bride with the Nuncio's bull which has cost her five cruzados, and she is thunderstruck when she finds her man gone, and her trouble and expense thrown away. However, the villain offers to console her, and goes to fetch a shepherd and shepherdesses to accompany them with dances and songs to church, and on their appearance the whole party moves off and the auto ends.

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[1] Cf. the *Juiz da Beira, passim.*

[2] Cf. the *Auto das Ciganas.*

[3] Cf. the *Velho da Horta, passim* and the *Triumpho do Inverno, Obras*, Ed. cit., II, p. 459.

[4] Cf. the *Auto Pastoril Portuguez* (*Obras*, Ed. cit., I, p. 126); also *Auto da Lusitania* (*Obras*, Ed. cit., III, pp. 271, 272).

Though not one of Gil Vicente's better pieces, the *Auto da Festa* has considerable literary merit and philological value, while some of its verses are full of beauty and harmony; all the characters speak in Portuguese except the gipsies, who, because they belong to the lowest class, are made to use Castilian, according to the dramatist's practice in his later, but contrary to that in his early plays. In concluding this notice I should like to express my sincere thanks to the Conde de Sabugosa for the copy of his book which he was good enough to bestow on me, since it has enabled me to introduce to English readers a new play by the founder of the Portuguese theatre.

EDGAR PRESTAGE.

Petrarch: His Life and Times. By H. C. HOLLWAY-CALTHROP. London: Methuen & Co., 1907. 8vo. xi + 319 pp.

This book, which is the fulfilment—part fulfilment, we will say—of a pledge given by the author many years ago in another work, is, we believe, the first serious attempt at an English biography of Petrarch, since the publication of Henry Reeve's little book in the series of *Foreign Classics for English Readers* some thirty years ago. Reeve's volume was excellently adapted for the purpose it was intended to serve, but Reeve himself would have been the last to claim for it the rank of a biography. There was a gap, therefore, to be filled, and that Mr Calthrop was the obvious person to fill it, no one, we think, would be disposed to question who heard or read his recent admirable Taylor lecture at Oxford. If there were any doubt about the matter, the present scholarly piece of work at any rate conclusively proves that Mr Calthrop as the biographer of Petrarch is emphatically the right man in the right place. Apart from an intimate acquaintance with the whole *corpus* of Petrarch's works, and a perfect familiarity with the currents and cross-currents of the intricate politics of the period, Mr Calthrop has had the inestimable advantage of a prolonged residence in Petrarch's country. To this last circumstance the reader is indebted, among other things, for some charming descriptions of scenery. Mr Calthrop, we may add, has the further advantage of being gifted with a peculiarly graceful style, which lends to his work a distinction too rarely met with in these days of careless writing.

To those who are accustomed to regard Petrarch merely as 'the famous renowner of Laura,' or even as a scholar and man of letters, it will no doubt come as a surprise to learn that he was the friend and inmate of Princes and Cardinals, on terms of familiarity with Pope and Emperor, and himself a dignitary of the Church and Count Palatine. Unhappily Petrarch's relations with certain of the great lords of Italy, spiritual and temporal, have left an indelible stain upon his memory. Time after time he stooped to receive favours and hospitality from, and to load with eulogy, persons whom his biographer unhesitatingly brands as 'men steeped in crime, to whom treachery and assassination were mere moves in a game of political intrigue, and whose reputation for cruelty and lust is the blackest spot in the record of the Italian people.'

We cannot help feeling that Mr Calthrop is unduly lenient in his judgment of Petrarch's relations with these 'monsters rather than men,' to use a phrase Petrarch himself could apply to them when it suited his purpose. Petrarch, the friend of the bloodthirsty Jacopo da Carrara, and of Azzo da Correggio, the double-dyed traitor, to whom might be applied the words of Junius about Wedderburn, 'there was that about him, which even treachery could not trust';—Petrarch, who accepted the 'shameful patronage' of Giovanni Visconti, that 'monster of treachery and crime,' who had all 'the cunning, the callousness, the poison,' of the viper which was the cognisance of his house;—Petrarch, the writer at a patron's bidding of 'a letter of insolent reproof and impertinent exhortation, which we can hardly read for shame,' to the heroic Jacopo Bossolaro;—Petrarch, who exhorted Rienzi to strike down without pity, and to exterminate as noxious beasts, even those to whom the writer himself was bound by the strongest ties of gratitude and affection;—this is not the man for whom we should have thought it possible for even the partiality of a biographer to find excuses. Yet Mr Calthrop can persuade himself to write: 'Loaded with honours and benefits, Petrarch may be forgiven if he ignored crimes, which he had not personally witnessed'—crimes, be it said, which included murder and forgery. We are reminded of Voltaire, who glossed over the part played by the Empress Catherine in the murder of her husband with the remark, 'Je sais bien qu'on lui reproche quelque bagatelle au sujet de son mari; mais ce sont des affaires de famille, dont je ne me mêle pas.'

It is a relief to turn from Petrarch the protégé and panegyrist of men of blood, whose existence we would willingly forget, to Petrarch the poet and founder of humanism. The most valuable perhaps, and certainly not the least interesting portion of Mr Calthrop's book is that in which he defines and emphasises Petrarch's unique position as 'the scholar to whom, more than to any other man, we owe the revival of learning in Europe.' It is not pretended, of course, that Petrarch galvanised a dead corpse into life. Life had never been extinct. As Mr Calthrop finely expresses it, Petrarch's predecessors handed down the torch of learning unextinguished; some quality in him enabled him to fire the world with it. Petrarch's father belonged to the same generation as Dante, yet so far as classical taste was concerned, Petrarch and Dante might have been separated not by a generation, but by a whole age. Unfortunately for his reputation as a critic, Dante has left us in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* a list of the Latin writers, 'qui usi sunt altissimas prosas,' those who were the greatest masters of prose style. We would lay almost any odds that no one would correctly name Dante's four favourites—they were Livy, Pliny, Frontinus, and Orosius! Yet Dante was familiar with and freely quotes at least half a dozen of Cicero's works[1]—Cicero, who for Petrarch was 'the father and chief of oratory and style.' In connection with Cicero we note that Mr Calthrop accepts *au pied de la lettre* Petrarch's statement that he was at one time in possession of a MS. of Cicero's *De Gloria*, of which he was robbed by his old schoolmaster, to whom he had lent it. Considerable doubt, so far as the identity of the MS. is concerned, has been thrown of late years by Voigt, Nolhac, and other scholars, upon the literal accuracy of this statement, which was made for the first time, more than forty years after the alleged incident, in a letter written when Petrarch was quite an old man, in fact within a few weeks of his death.

We should have been grateful for more information about Petrarch's library. An interesting chapter might have been written on this subject. Nolhac (whose valuable work on *Pétrarque et l'humanisme* appears to have been overlooked by Mr Calthrop) has succeeded in tracing some 40 MSS. which at one time belonged to Petrarch, nearly all of them containing *marginalia* in Petrarch's own hand. From the *data* he has collected, Nolhac calculates that the library must have consisted of at least 200 volumes—no inconsiderable collection for a private individual in those days. That it was held in high estimation in the poet's lifetime is evident from the fact recorded by Mr Calthrop that the Republic of Venice assigned to Petrarch a house in that city in consideration of his promised bequest of his books to the State—a bequest which unhappily for some reason unknown never took effect.

Mr Calthrop's judgment on the question of Laura is brief and decisive—'Laura was a real woman, and Petrarch was desperately her lover.' We must be content to leave it at that. No doubt the upholders of the laurel will continue to be sceptical. To ourselves the evidence for the reality of Laura, the date of whose death Petrarch recorded in the *penetralia* of his favourite MS. of Virgil, is as convincing as is the evidence for the reality of Beatrice, to whom Dante assigned a definite place among the immortal souls in Paradise.

Petrarch appears in these pages in the most attractive light as 'the incomparable friend.' He seems to have had a genius for making friends among all classes of mankind, and his friendships, at any rate among those of his own condition, were deep and abiding. As Mr Calthrop remarks, there is no pleasanter episode in the chronicles of literature than the friendship of Petrarch and Boccaccio, and we cannot take leave of this book without expressing the hope that the writer may be induced to carry on the work he has so well begun, and give us one more chapter in the history of humanism in the shape of a companion volume on Petrarch's devoted friend and fearless critic, the author of the *Decameron* and of the *De Genealogia Deorum.*

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[1] Trissino, the translator and first editor of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, was apparently so scandalized by Dante's omission of Cicero from his list, that in a MS. of the treatise which he possessed he altered *Titum Livium* into *Tullium, Livium.*

The book is provided with an adequate index and some excellent illustrations, among which we may specially mention the admirable drawings by Mrs Arthur Lemon from the portraits of Petrarch and Laura in the Laurentian library at Florence. We would gladly exchange the two or three prints of Popes for a facsimile of Petrarch's handwriting and a reproduction of the highly interesting portrait of the poet contained in a Paris MS. of the *De Viris Illustribus.* This MS. was completed within six years of Petrarch's death by Lombardo della Seta, one of the poet's most attached and intimate friends, and was a presentation copy destined for Francesco da Carrara to whom Petrarch had dedicated the work. There is every reason, therefore, to suppose that the likeness is an authentic one, quite possibly taken from the life. The volume is carefully printed, the only slips we have noted being 'Macchiavelli,' and 'Lombardo della Sete,' which occur both in text and index.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

George Buchanan: A Memorial, 1506–1906. Contributions by various Writers, compiled and edited by D. A. MILLER. St Andrews: W. C. Henderson; London: D. Nutt, 1907. 8vo. xx + 490 pp.

George Buchanan: Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies, 1906. Glasgow: J. Maclehose & Co., 1907. xxxvi + 556 pp. 8vo.

'Georgius Buchananus in Levinia Scotiae provincia natus est ad Blanum amnem anno salutis Christianae millesimo quingentesimo sexto circa kalendas Februarias, in villa rustica, familia magis vetusta quam opulenta.' So wrote George Buchanan in the declining years of his life; and the two Scottish Universities with which he was most closely connected, resolved last year to celebrate the four-hundredth anniversary of the event thus recorded. The initiative was taken by St Andrews, while Glasgow followed some months later, and the celebrations in both cases took the form of an oration, a banquet, and an exhibition of books and relics, besides several other less important functions. It was also decided that each University should issue a memorial volume which should place the celebrations on record, and epitomise all that ancient and modern research had succeeded in rescuing from oblivion concerning the great humanist.

The outstanding events in the life of George Buchanan are now comparatively well known and need not here be dwelt upon. It may not be out of place, however, to mention that the standard biography is that of Professor P. Hume Brown, published in Edinburgh in 1890, and that little has since that date been brought to light upon the subject, so that it may still be considered as holding a place first in importance amongst the many volumes—forty-one different works were alone exhibited in Glasgow—dealing with the life of Buchanan. Yet the interest aroused by the Quatercentenary celebrations called forth several new 'Lives,' the most important of which were a sane and well-reasoned biography by the Rev. Donald MacMillan; a sketch written expressly for children by Professor Hume Brown, in which he takes the opportunity of supplementing his longer biography with the little which later research has brought to light; and a reprint of the philosophical and suggestive life, a joint production of the late Dr Robert Wallace and Mr J. Campbell Smith, originally issued in the 'Famous Scots Series' some years ago.

In addition to these new works a large majority of the thousand odd pages in the memorial volumes are naturally devoted to the discussion of incidents and events in the life of the man, and to his relations to the politics of his time. Here, as elsewhere, I cannot help thinking that too much importance is laid upon the latter phase of his career. We are told regarding his famous pamphlet of *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, that it was awaited with bated breath, that its popularity was instantaneous and universal, and that the doctrines enunciated in it revolutionised the whole trend of political thought and conduct, not only in his own day, but for close upon a century thereafter. But these doctrines were not the creation of Buchanan: so far was this from being the case that they were already well known long before his pamphlet appeared, and, in fact, before he was even born. All that Buchanan really did was to produce a readable book in which the old ideas were reproduced in a new and more attractive form than any in which they had previously appeared. Buchanan did not invent the revolutionary ideals expressed in *De Jure Regni*; he only happened to be there when the time had come for their becoming popular, and they grew and bore fruit, not because his book appeared, but independently of it altogether.

The fame of Buchanan, however, rests primarily upon his eminence as a Latinist, and this side of his activity is much more fully elaborated in the Glasgow volume than in the St Andrews one. Still a goodly portion of both is devoted to this part of the subject, and it is this which must particularly appeal to the readers of the *Modern Language Review*. Buchanan was a humanist of the humanists, and was imbued with the ideas and traditions of classical antiquity. As a Latinist, however, he was a mere imitator, and his work cannot be said to have been in any sense creative. Professor W. M. Lindsay, in an admirable essay on *Buchanan as a Latin scholar* in the St Andrews volume, states: 'he never edited the works of any Latin poet, although he read and read again all the Latin poets till he almost knew their verses by heart.' He wrote Latin verse as few have done since the Golden Age of Roman literature, but he never added anything to our knowledge, and his verse, excellent as it is, does not ring true. This doubtless had as much as anything to do with the comparative neglect of his works during the past century. His apologists explain away this neglect on the ground that Latin has ceased to be the language of cultured Europe; but some other explanation must be sought, and to find this one need not, I think, go far afield. He made a bid for universal fame by writing in what was then the universal language of literary men, but his works lost thereby that subtle quality which the French designate *esprit.* While we have the feeling in reading a satire of Horace that Latin was the only possible medium for such excellent wit, we cannot get rid of an oppressive and uncomfortable sense of archaism and artificiality in perusing a *jeu d'esprit* by Buchanan. And this is perhaps most apparent in his most excellent work. Even his paraphrases of the Psalms are lacking in appropriateness; one does not feel quite at ease in reading the beautiful and simple Hebrew melodies clothed in the luxurious dress of Horatian metres. This aspect of Buchanan's work, although it is but slightly touched upon in the volumes which we are considering, has been too much kept in abeyance, and it is a fault of most of the contributors to these volumes that their critical faculties have been somewhat dazzled by the glamour of an academic function.

Yet there is much in Buchanan that is worthy of careful study and consideration, and the question naturally arises whether these Quatercentenary celebrations are likely to bring about a revival of interest in his works, or whether new facts concerning his life and relations to the various schools of thought which existed in his time, are likely to be elicited. As regards the former question, Dr W. S. McKechnie in his essay in the Glasgow volume upon *De Jure Regni*, has something to say: 'What manual of political science of the nineteenth century cites the *De Jure* as a work to be studied as even of secondary or third-rate importance? Neither Prof. Ueberweg in his encyclopaedic *History of Philosophy*, nor Dr Noah Porter in his supplementary sketch of *Philosophy in Great Britain and America*, amid their long lists of obsolete and forgotten authors, so much as names Buchanan. Professor Flint in his *History of the Philosophy of History* discusses the works of Languet and Hotman, but has no niche in his temple for his own countryman. It is not too much to say that for every fifty books that refer to the original compact theories of Hobbes or Locke or Rousseau not more than one so much as mentions the *De Jure.* It may be enough in this connection to refer to three comparatively recent works, each eminent in its own province, and representing different schools of thought. Neither Sir Frederick Pollock in his *Introduction to the History of the Science of Politics* (1890), the late Professor Ritchie of St Andrews, in his valuable treatise on *Natural Right* (1895), nor his successor, Professor Bosanquet, in his *Philosophical Theory of the State* (1899), so much as mentions Buchanan's name.' In a foot-note, however, Dr McKechnie adds: 'A revival of interest in Buchanan's political tenets is notable as coinciding with the quatercentenary of his birth. Several books published in 1905 and 1906 mention the *De Jure*, *e.g.*, Dunning, *History of Political Theories* (1905), Mackinnon, *History of Modern Liberty* (1906), and David J. Hill, *History of Diplomacy* (1906).'

An important work was published last year in Lisbon, in which the records of Buchanan's trial before the Inquisition are for the first time made public. Through the courtesy of the editor of this publication, Mr G. J. C. Henriques, the St Andrews editor has been able to secure for his volume much of the material which formed the introduction to that work, as well as some valuable and interesting facsimiles of the various MSS. which have just been recovered from the Inquisition Archives. A verbatim copy of Buchanan's Defence written in Latin is also given as an Appendix. From the latter, the following statement is of rather a startling nature, throwing, as it does, entirely new light upon the motive of Buchanan's drama, the *Baptistes:* 'Itaque cum primum potui ut illinc evasi meam sententiam de Anglis explicavi, in ea tragoedia quae est de Jo. Baptista, in qua quantum materiae similitudo patiebatur, mortem et accusationem Thomae Mori repraesentavi, et speciem tirannidis illius temporis ob oculos posui.' It had long been suspected that the drama on the subject of John the Baptist was allegorical, and many surmises had been made regarding the identity of the characters, but not even Professor Hume Brown suspected Sir Thomas More to be the original of Buchanan's John the Baptist.

There is much in these volumes of a controversial nature. The very date of the celebrations themselves might be disputed, 'there being good grounds for arguing that, according to modern reckoning, Buchanan's birth-year was 1507, and not 1506.' But a question of great interest and no little importance, upon which there is certain to be a large amount of controversial writing, is whether John Milton was the translator of the English rendering of the *Baptistes*, which was first anonymously published in London as a pamphlet in 1643 (new style) under the title of *Tyrannicall Government Anatomized, or a Discourse concerning Evil-Councellors, being the Life and Death of John the Baptist, and presented to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, by the Author. Die Martis* 30 *Januarii* 1642, *etc.* This is discussed in a separate essay in each of the volumes. Much erudition and a profound knowledge of Miltonic tradition is displayed by both writers, Mr William Bayne and Mr J. T. T. Brown; and it is interesting to note that each arrives at a different conclusion, the former rejects Milton, in which opinion he has the support of the late Professor Masson; while the latter accepts him as the translator. The arguments adduced by Mr Brown in support of his contention are, however, so complete and conclusive that I cannot resist the feeling that, until better evidence to the contrary is forthcoming, we must accept the translation as a poem of Milton's.

Both volumes are admirably printed on excellent paper, and sumptuously illustrated with views, facsimiles and portraits, a few of which are reproduced for the first time from the originals.

W. SAUNDERS.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June—August, 1907.

GENERAL.

(*a*) *Language.*

Brugmann, K., Die distributiven und die kollektiven Numeralia der indogermanischen Sprachen. (Abh. der kgl. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-hist. Klasse, xxv, 5.) Leipzig, Teubner. 3 M. 60.

Riegler, R., Das Tier im Spiegel der Sprache. Ein Beitrag zur vergleichenden Bedeutungslehre. (Neusprachliche Abhandlungen, 15—16.) Dresden, C. A. Koch. 7 M. 20.

Schrader, O., Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte. 3. Aufl. ii. 2. Jena, Costenoble. 15 M.

(*b*) *Literature.*

Garofalo, R., Idee sociologiche e politiche di Dante, Nietzsche e Tolstoi. Palermo, Reber. 2 L. 50.

Golther, W., Tristan und Isolde in den Dichtungen des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit. Leipzig, Hirzel. 8 M. 50.

Poinsot, M. C., Littérature sociale. Paris, Bib. gén. d'éd. 3 fr. 50.

Schmidt, W., Der Kampf um den Sinn des Lebens. Von Dante bis Ibsen. 2. Hälfte : Rousseau, Carlyle, Ibsen. Berlin, Trowitzsch. 5 M.

Torraca, F., Scritti critici. Naples, Perrella. 5 L.

Tunison, J. S., Dramatic Traditions of the Dark Ages. London, Unwin. 5*s.* 6*d.* net.

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Latin.

George Buchanan. Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies, 1906. Glasgow, MacLehose. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Grandgent, C. H., An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. Boston, Heath. 1 dol. 50. (London, Harrap. 6*s.*)

Manacorda, G., Della poesia latina in Germania durante il Rinascimento (Estr. R. Accademia dei Lincei.) Rome, Loescher. 9 L.

Italian.

Arullani, V. A., L' opera di Vittorio Alfieri e la sua importanza laica nazionale e civile. Turin, Paravia. 2 L. 50.

Boiardo, M. M., Orlando Innamorato, riscontrato sul codice trivulziano e su le prime stampe da F. Foffano. Vol. ii. Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall' Acqua. 15 L.

Boulting, W., Tasso and his Times. London, Methuen. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Carducci, G., Opere. Vol. xiv (Il Parini maggiore), e xvii (Odi barbare; Rime et ritmi; appendice). Bologna, Zanichelli. Each 4 L.

Dante, Il Canzoniere. Per A. Santi. Vol. ii. Rome, Loescher. 6 L.

Dante, Il trattato 'De Vulgari Eloquentia.' Per cura di P. Raina. Ediz. critica. 2a impr. Milan, Hoepli. 15 L.

Dante, La vita nuova. Per cura di M. Barbi. Milan, Hoepli. 20 L.

De Gubernatis, A., La poésie amoureuse de la renaissance italienne. Rome, Loescher. 4 L.

De Sanctis, F., Saggio critico sul Petrarca. Nuova ediz. a cura di B. Croce. Naples, A. Morano. 4 L.

Di Giacomo, S., Poesie. Raccolta completa con note e glossario. Naples, Ricciardi. 4 L.

Gabrieli, A., Maria di Dante. Esposizione della parte che Dante ha assegnato a Maria nel gran dramma del soprannaturale. 1 L. 50.

Imbriani, V., Studi letterari e bizzarrie satiriche. A cura di B. Croce. Bari, Laterza. 5 L.

Isola, I. G. Critica del Rinascimento. 2 vols. Leghorn, Giusti. 7 L.

Leopardi, G., I Canti, con introduzione e commento. Per cura di G. Tambara. Milan, Vallardi. 2 L. 50.

Levi, C. Contributo alla bibliografia della critica goldoniana. Florence, Rassegna nazionale. 1 L.

Longinotti, E. e M. Baccini. La Letteratura italiana nella storia della cultura. Vol. iii. Florence, Sansoni. 4 L.

Rumor, S., Gli scrittori vicentini dei secoli xviii e xix. Vol. ii. Venice, Tip. Emiliana. 20 L.

Zaccagnini, G. I rimatori pistoiesi dei secoli xiii e xiv. Testo critico. Pistoia, Tip. Sinibuldiana. 5 L.

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Castillo Salórzano, A., Noches de placer, novelas reimpresas con una advertencia de D. Emilio Cotarelo y Mori. (Colección de antiguas novelas españolas, Tomo v.) Madrid, Imp. Ibérica. 3 pes.

Dieulafoy, M., Le Théâtre édifiant en Espagne, Cervantes, Tirso de Molina, Calderon. Paris, Bloud et Cie. 3 p. 50.

Escalante, Amós de, Poesías. Edición póstuma, precedida de un estudio crítico, por D. M. Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid, Tello.

Granada, Luis de, Obras de. Edición crítica y completa por J. Cuervo. Tomo x, xi, xii, xiv. Madrid, La Hija de G. Fuentenebro. Each 10 pes. 50.

Piña, Juan de, Casos prodigiosos y cueva encantada. Con estudio biográfico y crítico por E. Cotarelo y Mori. (Colección de antiguas novelas españolas, Tomo vi.) Madrid, Imp. Ibérica. 3 pes.

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Sanvisenti, B., Manuale di Letteratura spagnuola (Manuali Hoepli). Milan, Hoepli. 1 L. 50.

Verdaguer, M. J., Obres completes, ad gran cura ordenades y anotades. Vol. v. Barcelona, Imp. de la Viuda de J. Cunill.

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Giraut de Bornelh, Sämtliche Lieder. Mit Übersetzung, Kommentar und Glossar herausg. von A. Kolsen. i. 1. Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.

Portal, E., Letteratura provenzale. I moderni trovatori: biografie provenzali. Milan, Hoepli. 1 L. 50.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*Language, Dialects*).

Anthologie normande et picarde de la Société des Violetti. Colligée par F. Halley. Tome ii. Rouen, Bibl. des Violetti. 2 fr. 50.

La Grasserie, R. de, Étude scientifique sur l'argot et le parler populaire. Paris, Daragon. 6 fr.

Passy, P., The Sounds of the French Language. Transl. by D. L. Savory and D. Jones. London, Frowde. 2*s.* 6*d.*

Sainéau, L., La création métaphorique en français et en roman. Images tirées du monde des animaux domestiques. Le chien et le porc avec des appendices sur le loup, le renard et les batraciens. (Zeitschrift f. roman. Phil., Beiheft x.) Halle, Niemeyer. 4 M. 40.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Becker, P. A., Grundriss der altfranzösischen Literatur. I. Älteste Denkmäler. Nationale Heldendichtung. (Sammlung romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher, ii, 1.) Heidelberg, Winter. 3 M.

Brockstedt, G., Floovent-Studien. Untersuchungen zur altfranzösischen Epik. Kiel, Cordes. 7 M.

Canzone d' Orlando. Testo antico francese tradotto in versi italiani da L. F. Benedetto, con introduzione di R. Renier. Turin, Lattes. 4 L.

Foerster, W., and E. Koschwitz, Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch. 3. Aufl. Leipzig, Reisland. 4 M.

Koschwitz, E., Karls des Grossen Reise nach Jerusalem und Constantinopel. Ein altfranzösisches Heldengedicht. 5. Aufl. besorgt von G. Thurau. Leipzig, Reisland. 4 M. 50.

Koschwitz, E., Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française, i. 7. Aufl. Leipzig, Reisland. 1 M. 20.

Normandy, G., Jean Lorrain, son enfance, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Bibl. gén. d'éd. 3 fr. 50.

Schwan, E., Grammatik des Altfranzösischen. Neu bearbeitet von D. Behrens. 7. Aufl. Leipzig, Reisland. 5 M. 60.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Champion, P., Le manuscrit autographe des poésies de Charles d'Orléans. Paris, Champion. 10 fr.

Culcasi, C., Gl' influssi italiani nell' opera di G. G. Rousseau. Rome, Soc. Editr. Dante Alighieri. 3 L.

Delaruelle, L., Étude sur l'humanisme français. Guillaume Budé. Paris, Champion. 7 fr. 50.

Des Masures, L., Tragédies saintes. Édition critique par C. Comte. Paris, E. Cornély. 7 fr.

Dufay, P., Étude iconographique sur Ronsard. Paris, Champion. 1 fr. 50.

Fusco, A., La Filosofia dell' arte in G. Flaubert. Messina, Trincheba. 2 L.

Gouthkoff, T., L'Esthétique de Montaigne. Paris, Sansot. 1 fr.

Hugo, V., Intellectual Autobiography. With a study of the last phase of Hugo's genius, by L. O'Rourke. New York, Funk and Wagnall. 1 dol. 20 net.

JODELLE, E., Les Amours et autres poésies, avec notes par A. van Bever. Paris, Sansot. 3 fr. 50.

LANCASTER, H. C., The French tragi-comedy. Baltimore, J. H. Furst. 1 dol. 50.

LEFEBVRE, L., Histoire du théâtre de Lille, de ses origines à nos jours. Tome v. Paris, Champion. 7 fr. 50.

LEPELLETIER, E., Paul Verlaine, sa vie, son œuvre. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.

MARÉCHAL, C., Lamennais et Lamartine. Paris, Bloud et Cie. 3 fr. 50.

MUSSET, A. DE, Œuvres. Poésies. Tome II, 1833–52. Paris, Lemerre. 3 fr. 50.

RESTIF DE LA BRETONNE, N., Monsieur Nicolas. Vol. II. Paris, Michaud. 3 fr. 50.

THUASNE, L., Rabelais et Villon. Paris, Champion. 2 fr.

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AGERSKOV, M., og E. RØRDAM, Dansk Litteratur før 1800. Haandbog i den ældre danske Litteratur med Prøver af den oldnorsk-islandske Litteratur. Copenhagen. 3 kr. 50.

Clári saga. Herausg. von G. Cederschiöld. (Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, XII.) Halle, Niemeyer. 3 M.

COLLIN, C., B. Bjørnson. Hans liv og digtning. 16. Hefte. Christiania, Aschehoug. 1 kr. (2 vols. complete, 10 kr.)

DOLLERIS, A., Carl Bagger. En biografisk Skildring af Digteren og hans Hustru. Odense, Milo. 2 kr. 50.

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THE INFLUENCE OF DANTE IN SPANISH LITERATURE.

How far did the influence of the great poet of the Middle Age extend? It has been traced in France and in England, and its echoes have been found in lands far away; but it is only recently that serious attention has been bestowed upon the traces of it which can be discovered in the literatures of the Iberian peninsula. The writings of Signor Farinelli (*Appunti su Dante in Ispagna nell' età media* in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, supplemento no.* 8, Torino, 1905), of Dr Paolo Savj-Lopez (*Dantes Einfluss auf spanische Dichter des XV. Jahrhunderts,* Neapel, s.d.), and Signor Sanvisenti (*I primi influssi di Dante, del Petrarca, e del Boccaccio sulla Letteratura Spagnuola,* Milano, 1904) have directed attention to the subject. To add to the information given by these writers is not the purpose of the present paper, but rather to analyse and sift the evidence which they adduce and the opinions which they express, to compare their judgment with that of other writers, to illustrate the subject from other sources, and to supplement the survey by one further note of the indebtedness of a great Spanish writer to 'l' altissimo poeta.'

The prominent influences on the Spanish Literature of the Middle Age were three—the French, the Arabic, and the Italian. In the *Comedia de Gloria de Amor* of Fra Rocaberti (c. 1461) is a contest between French and Italian literature:

> Quatre homens bells los tres d' una semença
> Lo quart parech Petrarca en son entendre.

The first three are Guillaume de Lorris, Michault, and Alain Chartier the poet of the *Belle Dame Sans Mercy*: the fourth, Petrarch, is victorious over his French rivals. But Rocaberti knew Dante also, as many passages prove[1], and Dante's influence was earlier, more subtle, perhaps less direct, because it was so closely bound up with the general influence of the allegorical style, which came to Spain from France as well as from southern lands. The French association was strong: Rocaberti shows it in many a hint of indebtedness to the *Roman de la Rose*, whose direct appeal,—'el arte de amor es toda enclosa,' as says Santillana,—was more powerful on Spanish writers than ever Dante's could be. The early development of the French language counted for much: there, close at hand, Spain could find models of how to use words effectively, how to express common ideas, which she would have been indeed blind if she had neglected. And political association brought the influence home. Navarre, Castile, Aragón, were each in their early days closely linked to Southern Gaul. The long rule of the house of Barcelona over much that was French as well as Spanish was followed by the still closer tie that was formed when Thibault of Champagne, himself a patron of poets, like all his house, came to govern the mountain kingdom of Navarre; and when the house of Trastamara sat on the throne of Alfonso el Sabio the French power that had helped to place it there was joined to Spain in repeated alliance. The Church too came forward: the pilgrimages to Compostela brought many a French priest and many a French hymn and prayer. The *Misterio de los reyes magos* comes from a Latin office used in mid-Gaul: other Franco-Latin liturgical plays have left traces in Spain; and the *Poema del Cid* undoubtedly follows the model of the *Chanson de Roland.* The wonder indeed is not that French influence on Spanish literature was so great but that it was, comparatively, so small.

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[1] 'In manchen Stellen schliesst sich Rocaberti so eng an die D. C. dass er sie beinahe übersetzt.' Savj-Lopez, *Dantes Einfluss etc.* p. 11.

But it was counteracted, it may be, by a very different influence. For a long time scholars resisted the admission of the indebtedness of Spain, in constitutional life as in literature, to the Arab invaders: they still minimise it. But Dozy showed how the typical Spanish hero was half Moor, and how the *Crónica general*[1] contained large extracts, translated, from Arab chronicles: Julian Ribera has shown how the characteristic institution, the Justicia, of Aragón, is derived from a Moorish original. Alliance and intermarriage undoubtedly brought close association. If it is impossible to prove a structural imitation of Arabic by Castilian lyrics, the similarity has probably a greater significance than has been generally admitted. The literary assimilation must have gone far when Granada surrendered in 1492, and not a thousand Arabs in the kingdom could speak their native tongue[2]. Indebtedness in general to the Arab apologue, in particular to certain definite collections of stories, may be traced.

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[1] *Las quatr partes enteras de la Cronica de España*, first printed in 1541. On this see the extremely interesting paper by Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, third series, vol. i, pp. 139 sqq. (1907).

[2] Fitzmaurice-Kelly, *Spanish Literature*, p. 19: and see the previous pages.

But the estimate of Arabic influence can only be made by an Arabic scholar who thoroughly knows the literature of Spain. It was one of the things that we hoped for in the elaborate study of Spanish civilisation which had been planned by Mr Butler Clarke, whose death was one of the most severe blows that English study of Spanish letters has ever received. But this at least we may say, that there was no one great Arabic writer whose influence may be seen in Spain, as we may see the influence of Dante and Petrarch.

When the fields were irrigated from Italian sources it was not from many little streams but from two mighty rivers that the inspiration came. Italian influence in volume and intensity far surpassed that of the Moors, the Franks or the Provençals. Towards Italy Spain had never ceased to look, since the day when the arms of Justinian made the power of Rome again triumphant from the Pillars of Hercules to the Pyrenees. Religion was a close tie: a long series of ecclesiastical letters, and notably among them those of Gregory VII, show how close. Spaniards attended the Italian Universities and indeed held office there[1]: in the fourteenth century the Spanish Universities had greatly decayed, and in 1364 Cardinal Carrillo de Albornoz founded at Bologna the College of S. Clement for the instruction of his countrymen.

Politics confirmed the connection. Don Jaime el Conquistador taught Aragón to look eastwards, and Barcelona in trade as well as letters was associated with the farther Mediterranean lands. Then came the rule of Spain over Sicily and over Naples, and with it, as Ticknor says[2], 'constant means and opportunities for the transmission of Italian cultivation and Italian literature to Spain itself.' Spanish writers could read Italian easily and imitate the Italian style. The famous Marqués de Santillana expressed the general feeling of his countrymen when he wrote in his *Prohemio*: 'Los itálicos prefiero yo, só emienda de quien mas sabrá, á los françeses solamente. Ca las sus obras se muestran de mas altos engenios, é adórnanlas é compónenlas de fermosas é pelegrinas estorias; é á los françeses de los itálicos en el guardar del arte; de lo qual los itálicos, sinon solamente en el pesso ó consonar, non se façen mençion alguna.' And when he wrote this he had no doubt in mind Dante his great master.

Already Dante had become well known in Spain. The early fifteenth century saw two versions of the *Divina Commedia* into tongues spoken within the Iberian peninsula. It seems that the two versions were even made within a single year: so Ticknor says, but I do not know precisely what he means or what is his authority. Of this more anon. The year of the one version which is in Catalán is certainly 1429, and it is the work of Andreu Febrer[1]—'en rims vulgars Cathalans.' It is in the 'terza rima' with very often the exact line-endings of Dante himself, and is as nearly a literal translation as could well be.

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[1] Ticknor, *History of Spanish Literature*, vol. I, p. 315.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 318.

En lo mig del cami de nostra vida
Me retrobe per una selva obscura,

are its first two lines[2]. It is mentioned by the great literary dictator of the age, the Marqués de Santillana, who wrote 'Mossen Febrer fiço obras notables é algunos affirman aya traydo el Dante de lengua florentina en catalán, non menguando punto en la orden del metrificar é consonar': and who regarded the Catalâns as the masters of Spanish letters in his day. 'Los Catalanes, Valençianos é algunos del reyno de Aragon fueron e son grandes officiales desta arte' he says.

One might indeed think that it was through Catalunia and Aragón that the influence of Dante entered into Spain. The Catalâns were well acquainted with Dante: Sanvisenti, who would restrict their acquaintance to Rocaberti and the translator, has been shown to be in error[3]. They were well acquainted with Italian writers of Dante's time: very likely the association goes back to the time of Ramón Lull (1235—1315) who dwelt many years in Italy, a student, whom Menéndez y Pelayo calls 'the knight-errant of philosophy, the ascetic and troubadour, the novelist and missionary[4],' and who, though he probably did not know Dante's *Commedia* or the poet himself, yet very likely derived much of his thought in his mystical writings, directly or indirectly, from the *Vita Nuova*[5]. The Catalâns had a genius for translation, and a passion for the literature of Italy. The great period of their literature, which the matchless humour and directness of the chronicle of King James himself proves to have been as rich in prose as in poetry, was the period when they were closely associated with the Italian states, and ended when the union of the Spanish kingdoms placed the centre of gravity in a more southern part of the peninsula, and Aragón with its subject-states fell under the dominance of

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[1] So the MS. in the Escorial says. August 1, 1429 is the date of the completion. See Schiff, *Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, p. 310. Ticknor, I, 297 note, says 1428 and has clearly misled many.

[2] *La Comedia de Dant translatada per N. Andreu Febrer* (ed. C. Vidal y Valenciano), Barcelona, 1878.

[3] Cf. Farinelli, p. 20, with Sanvisenti, pp. 15 sqq.

[4] See Butler Clarke, *Spanish Literature*, p. 57.

[5] Cf. Farinelli, p. 22.

Castile. From Provence and the troubadours they turned to Italy and the poets.

They were critics however as well as translators and debtors. The Dominican Vicente Ferrer seems to place Dante in the Inferno beside Vergil and Ovid, because his 'cadences' do not touch or convert like the Bible and the lives of the saints. Vicente had been a disciple of S. Bernardino of Siena, and a commentator on S. Thomas Aquinas, and his notes show that Dante he had read, marked and disapproved[1]. Among the Catalàns and the men of Valencia and Aragón, whom Santillana deemed worthy of the distinction of his praise, Dante became well known. Bernat Metge, himself it seems a Medici by descent[2], and the 'gran cortesá he familiar real,' undoubtedly knew the poet and could not forget him when he himself wrote in verse. His own King Juan seemed to him like Cato in the *Purgatorio*, 'un hom de mitja estatura ab reverent cara': his *Orfeo* has many a reminiscence of the *Inferno*, which Signor Farinelli has collected; and the poet throughout undoubtedly, as the Italian critic says, 'usa famigliarmente anche expressioni virgiliane e dantesche[3].' Yet when the 'penal conception' of Dante is said to be the source of much of the imagery of Metge, I cannot but think it important to remember that this is largely taken from the early Christian Apocalypses, which, whether in tradition or in writing, were as accessible to Metge as to the Florentine himself: and there were hints too which the Catalán took not directly or indirectly from Dante at all, but from the *Metamorphoses* of Ovid[4].

Of the Catalán, Dr Farinelli, repudiating the German assertion[5] that the language is too unbending for the purpose, asserts that it is the best of all the early translations. Febrer seems to have saturated himself in the language of his master, and of Vergil his master's master, and his work is, indeed, as the most superficial study of it shows, one of immense patience and extraordinary fidelity to the original, 'non menguando punto en la orden de metrificar y consonar,' as Santillana witnessed.

The influence of Dante on Catalán literature was something unique and apart. It was not only poetic and spiritual, but the poem became regarded as a fount of wisdom and instruction in learning and in morals, and a monitor against vice. Thus a school of Catalán commentators on Dante sprang up. In the early fifteenth century there were Jaume Ferrer de Blanes, in his *Sententias católicas y conclusions principals del preclarissim theolech y divi poeta Dant* (published at Barcelona eventually in 1545), Bernat Nicolau Blanquer (who dealt with the *Purgatorio* alone), and a third whose name does not seem to be known, and whose work on the *Inferno* remains in MS., *Comentari dels cantichs y estancias del Infern del poeta Dant.* Under this influence rose a school of Catalán poets.

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[1] See Farinelli, pp. 24, 25.

[2] See references in Farinelli, note, pp. 25, 26.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 27.

[4] Cf. Farinelli, p. 30, note.

[5] Ebert, in *Jahrb. f. rom. u. eng. Liter.* II, p. 267.

Ausias March, the Valencian, perhaps 'the greatest master of his native tongue[1],' and whom the Marqués de Santillana described as 'gran trovador é hombre de asaz elevado espíritu,' an imitator of Petrarch whom some have ranked as high as his master, was a student of Dante; and Menéndez y Pelayo[2] says that he was directly influenced by the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio.* Rocaberti (whom I have already mentioned) in his *Comedia de la gloria de amor* (1461), was another who followed in the train, but, it would seem, without originality or true poetic feeling. He adapted many a phrase, paraphrased some scenes —such as the *Francesca del Dant*—and showed an acquaintance with much of the Dante *scenario.* Dante himself and Beatrice he places among the crowd of lovers who receive him in the garden into which he is led by the lady of the castle and who gather before Amor himself.

There is also the small treatise of Francesch Carroç Pardo de la Cuesta, *Moral consideració contra las persuassions vicis y forces de amor*[3], in which the fatal power of Love is emphasised in the address to Paolo and Francesca—'y vosaltres, o Paulo e Francisca, de qui los aguayts de negra sort trencaren los ligams de la humana servitut, e les animes vostres amant no foren separades, segons Dant recia en lo cant cinque de la sua primera cantica, per mostrar que fins al abis dels inferns amor encara regna, pujau a fer los companya.' Signor Farinelli, from whom I quote this instance[4], shows that Carroç Pardo must have been a diligent student of Dante. Again, he influences Antoni Vallmanya, in his *Sort...en lohor de los monges de Valldonzella,* at least through the *Inferno*; Mossen Corella, Jaume Roig, and the writer of the curious Catalán romance, *Curial y Guelfa,* who quotes from the Florentine as from a sacred book, uses the verse, *Paradiso,* viii, 7, in a way which shows that he does not quote from Febrer's version but translates direct from the original[5], and when he would eulogise Pedro of Aragón he gives to him the praise of Charles of Anjou (*Purgatorio*, vii, 114) that he

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[1] H. B. Clarke, *Spanish Literature,* p. 53.

[2] *Historia de las ideas estéticas en España,* i.

[3] Barcelona, 1877.

[4] *Op. cit.,* pp. 96–7.

[5] Febrer has 'Mas Dyone honraven é Cupido,' the romance 'Ma Dione adoravan e Cupido.'

> d' ogni valor portò cinta la corda.

Thus at the end of the Catalán literature of the Middle Age Dante was a dominant influence.

In Castile his fame if not so widespread was even more closely linked to a great revival of letters. P. Savj-Lopez (in *Giornale Dantesco* IV, vii–viii, pp., 360 sqq.) has shown that not long before Dante conceived the design of the *Divina Commedia* there were written in Spain two descriptions of the unseen world, one of Paradise, the other of the Inferno: neither make mention of Purgatory. One is in *The Life of Sancta Oria* by Gonzalo de Berceo: a vision of heaven to which the saint is admitted by three children, where is a bright tree in flower round which the saints gather, and where are the martyrs in their robes of red, the hermits, the apostles on their thrones, the evangelists in splendour, but where the voice only of the Lord is heard, solemn and sad, which bids the virgin saint return to her cell to await the hour of her liberation.

The *Inferno* appears in the *Book of Alexander* (2nd half of the thirteenth century), a translation of the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon. There by the side of Styx wait the vices, Avarice, the mother of them all, Anger, Gluttony; and beyond is the flame of the eternal furnace, the frozen torment where none may die,

> quia quorum hic mortua vita
> In culpa fuerit, ibi vivet semper eorum
> Mors in suppliciis; ut qui delinquere vivus
> Non cessat, finem moriendi nesciat illis.

It was this Latin poem of Walter of Châtillon which was translated into Spanish in a popular version. There the Inferno appears as a deep pit, dark, girt with walls of stone and of sulphur, full of serpents which hiss and bite the damned souls. No flowers grow there, but thorns, and the smoke of torment ascends for ever. The seven deadly sins stand at the entrance, and each has his own place, where the sinners are punished by the very sins they loved. Thus the gluttons ever hunger and suffer burning thirst. Pride[1] alone is everywhere and has no place for herself alone. In the midst of Inferno is the throne of Lucifer who distributes and tempers punishments in regard to the degree of guilt. In limbo lie the unbaptized babes, who live without pain but without light, condemned 'nunca ver la faz del criador.' The references to Paradise in Don Juan Manuel of Castile (1282—1347) may also show a similarity to Dante[1], but he undoubtedly in some points followed Ruiz, the arch-priest of Hita.

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[1] Cf. *Purgatorio*, x.

In Castile, then, the soil was richly prepared. It was a land where Allegory flourished and it was as an allegory that the *Divina Commedia* found its way into Spain. I have mentioned Gonzalo de Berceo: there is also his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora.* Similar thoughts are to be found even in the scandalous arch-priest of Hita (c. 1290—1350), a great influence in Spanish literature; in the early imitators of Boethius, whose doctrine was, as Professor Ker has told us, 'as fresh in the fourteenth as in the sixth, a perennial source of moral wisdom[2],' and whom Dante himself took for model; and in the French allegories which found a home in the peninsula. Beside the Allegories are the spiritual visions, the 'Klostervisionen,' as Savj-Lopez calls them. Both show that Spain was prepared for the *Divina Commedia,* just as the Troubadours prepared the way in the same land for the appreciation of Petrarch.

The triumph of Dante in Spain came with the reign of Juan II of Castile[3] (1406—54), the patron of letters, himself a poet, the correspondent of Aretino[4], and the founder of a literary circle which gathered round the court.

To Francesco Imperial, a Genoese by birth whose father settled in Spain, belongs the honour of—in the phrase of Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly[5]—'transplanting Dante into Spain.' He knew Italian well, and read (as few of his successors did) the poet in his own tongue, and through him the passionate admiration which the chief poets of the time showed for the *Divina Commedia* was begun. Dante he claimed for his master. In the *Decir de las Siete Virtudes*[6] he tells how inspiration came to him when he had fallen asleep in a green meadow. In a magic garden surrounded by a wall of emerald he saw a venerable man with a white beard, who held in his hand a book, wherein, written in letters of gold, were the first words of the *Divina Commedia.* The sage was Dante himself, crowned with laurel; and he led his Spanish follower along the pleasant paths where stand the seven cardinal virtues in female form and with them their attendants, virtues who from them trace their descent. Line after line of the description is copied from the *Commedia*. Then the contrast is shown of vices, snake like, threatening destruction to the fair town of Seville. But the disciple is warned and expresses his thankfulness in almost the very words of the *Inferno* where Dante learns the cause of the judgment on the incontinent,

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[1] I have not been able to trace them in detail.
[2] W. P. Ker, *The Dark Ages*, p. 40.
[3] His reign is 1419—54.
[4] See Sanvisenti, pp. 19, 29.
[5] *Spanish Literature*, p. 98.
[6] In the *Cancionero de Baena* and edited also anew by Amador de los Rios.

O sol que sanas vista atribulada,
tu me contentas tanto quanto absuelves[1],

and the vision ends with the sound of voices singing the Ave Maria and the Salve Regina:

E commo en mayo en prado de flores
se mueve el ayre, en quebrando el alva,
suavemente vuelto con olores,
tal se moviera, al acabar la salva,
feriame en las fas é en la calva,
é acordé commo á fuerça despierto,
e en mis manos fallé á Dante abierto
en el capitol que la Virgen salva.

And Imperial's invocation[2]:

O suma luz, que tanto te alçaste
del concepto mortal, á mi memoria
represta un poco lo que me mostraste,

is simply the *Paradiso*, xxxiii, 67:

O somma luz, che tanto ti levi
dai concetti mortali, alla mia mente
ripresta un poco di quel che parevi.

The conception of the whole poem is Dantesque, and the whole atmosphere is that of Dante's moral environment. Dante is to him the great moral teacher, the fount of instruction for the modern world. And as a poet he takes rank among the great ones of old,

Omero, Oraçio, Vergilio, Dante
e con ellos calle Ovidio *de amànte*,

he says in one place; and in another,

Omero Vergilio Dante
Boecio, Lucain, de sy,
en Ovidio, *de amante.*

The influence of Francesco Imperial, of whom personally after all we know very little, was widespread, and it spread rapidly. Dante became the model for the Spanish poets and the typical sage of modern days.

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[1] Cf. *Inferno*, xi, 91:

O sol che sani ogni vista turbata
Tu mi contenti sì, quando tu solvi,
Che, non men che saper, dubbiar m' aggrata.

[2] Sanvisenti traces in detail the indebtedness of Imperial to Dante, with references to the *Div. Com.* (pp. 33 sqq.) but omits the invocation.

Don Enrique de Aragón, Señor de Villena (1384—1434), the translator of Vergil, completed a Castilian prose translation of the *Divina Commedia*, in 1428. It was thus the earliest translation in a Spanish tongue. The whole was believed[1] to have been lost, but it has been rediscovered by M. Mario Schiff[2] among the manuscripts of the Marqués of Santillana, for whom it was executed; and in his recently published study of the library of the Marqués he gives a number of extracts[3] which show how closely and how admirably Villena followed his original. It was the study of Vergil no doubt which led Villena on to Dante[4]: it was also the influence of the Marqués of Santillana, the brother and patron of the Castilian poets.

Iñigo Lopez de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana, conde del Real de Manzanares (1398—1458), was the great leader of the men of letters at the court of Juan II. He was a warrior too and a statesman, one whom kings could trust and soldiers follow, because (says Gómez Manrique[5]) he was one who counselled as he himself would act and was their companion in the dangers they incurred. He was a good husband, a good father, a good Christian, a generous benefactor. More than all else to the men of his day he seemed a great scholar, a man who loved learning, a man whom the Italian Renaissance might have produced, a man of whom the classic days might not have been ashamed. It has been questioned whether he knew Latin: M. Schiff seems to doubt it[6]: but he certainly quotes Latin, and the MS. of Villena's translation of the *Divina Commedia* which was in his library has marginal notes in Latin which there seems reason to think were written by himself[7].

He was a poet, a lyric poet, almost a great lyric poet. Señor Menéndez y Pelayo has called attention to his profound sense of rhythm, his feeling for the music of verse, which makes him 'sin disputa el primero y más armonioso de los versificadores de su tiempo[8].' It is a quality which links him to the Provençal singers and which is so notable in his exquisite *Serranilla*—a 'little mountain song' on a maiden tending her father's sheep. But he is linked even more closely to the Italians, to Petrarch, to Boccaccio, and especially to Dante. To the Italians he turned when Villena had given him the translation of the *Divina Commedia*, in which Francesco Imperial had taught him to seek for a new inspiration. 'Il est emprégné de la Divine Comédie plus que de

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[1] As by Ticknor, I, 326.

[2] See *La Bibliothèque du Marquis de Santillane*, 1905, pp. 275 sqq.

[3] Pp. 278 sqq.

[4] Cf. Farinelli, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[5] In *Cancionero*, t. II, p. 8.

[6] See his book, *op. cit.*, cap. II.

[7] So Schiff, p. 277, and Savj-Lopez, p. 6.

[8] *Antología*, t. V, p. lxxxvii.

tout autre livre' says M. Mario Schiff[1] very truly. 'Il en a propagé le culte et encouragé l'étude. Sans qu'il y a plagiat dans ses compositions telles que *El Infierno de los Enamorados; la Coronaçión de Mossen Jordi; la Comedieta de Ponza*, presque tout y est dantesque, l'atmosphère, le ton, l'attitude des personnages, les questions, les réponses, le décor et les gestes.' He gloried in being a disciple of Dante. To the Constable of Portugal, to whom he wrote the famous *Prohemio* which is prefixed to his works, he spoke of his knowledge of the great master, and his nephew Gómez Manrique addressed him as

> vos que emendays las obras del Dante
> e otras mas altas sabeys componer.

What the first words may mean has been much disputed, but may they not refer to the very notes that are still to be seen on Villena's manuscript?

The *Comedieta de Ponza*, which has for historical basis the naval battle off Ponza in 1435 where the Genoese captured the kings of Aragón and Castile, is full of imitation of the *Inferno*, and is notable for the prominent part assigned to Fortuna, in describing whom a passage is borrowed from the seventh canto of the *Inferno*, lines 70 sqq.[2] For the use of *comedia* to describe a national disaster Santillana quotes Dante as justification; and indeed at the end of the poem it is Fortuna who redresses the wrongs and shows that greater glories are still awaiting the kingdoms of Spain.

Throughout the poetry of Santillana in fact, and not only in the three works which M. Schiff mentions in the passage I have just quoted, reminiscences are continually found. Sanvisenti[3] has collected many of them: Farinelli has added others[4]. The treatment of *Fortuna* especially recalls the Marqués to his Italian model, and the *Dialogo de Bias contra Fortuna* is full of word- as well as thought-transference. The *Infierno de los Enamorados* was a subject also which invited adaptation. It was founded on the Francesca episode and contains several reminiscences of it. The simile of the reeling vessel beaten by the waves, *Purgatorio*, xxxii, 115, 17, occurs in the form:

> como nave combatida
> De los adversarios vientos
> Que dubda de su partida
> Por los muchos movimientos;

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[1] *La Bibliothèque*, p. lxxv.

[2] Savj-Lopez, *op. cit.*, p. 6, denies this and finds reminiscence only in details.

[3] *Op. cit.*, pp. 128 sqq.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 50 sqq.

and the falcon which gazes at its feet before it spreads its wings returns to us as

el falcon, que mira
La tierra mas depoblada
É la fambre allí lo tira
Por façer cierta volada.

It is not only in verbal reminiscence, in following of thought, in atmosphere, that Santillana follows Dante; nor, certainly, was he anxious to conceal his indebtedness. He again and again quotes his master by name—as

Dante á Acheronte
allí do se passa la triste ribera—

or among those who have written of love's victims, of Tristán, of Lançarote, of Galeote,

de los christianos á Dante.

The *Defunssion de don Enrique de Villena*, the *Canoniçación de Viçente Ferrer et Pedro de Villacreçes*, the *Doctrinal de Privados*—the last the work which M. Mario Schiff[1] considers Santillana's masterpiece—and even the *Proverbios* are full too of reminiscences.

The library of the great Marqués was well stocked with his master's works. It contained Italian manuscripts of the *Commedia*, the *Convivio*, the *Canzoniere*, the *Canzoni della vita nuova*, and a second manuscript of the *Canzoniere* with Boccaccio's *Life*: the Italian text with Villena's translation; a Castilian translation of a Latin commentary on the *Commedia*, of Benvenuto da Imola on the *Inferno* and the *Purgatorio*. Santillana was certainly the great Dantist that his contemporaries call him, and he was a fit leader of the literary Renaissance which radiated from the court of Juan II under Italian influences.

Of the knowledge of Boccaccio and Petrarch nothing need here be said; we are concerned alone with Dante. It was by the *Divina Commedia* almost alone that Dante was known; but the ignorance of the rest of the works has doubtless been exaggerated[2]. It is certain from not a few imitations that the *Vita Nuova* was known, the *Convivio* is undoubtedly referred to, the *Canzoniere* too, and (as has been suggested) the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. The library of the Marqués of Santillana contained all but the last. It seems improbable that more than these was known in Spain at all; and the knowledge of everything outside the *Divina Commedia* must have been very slight.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. lxxviii.

[2] I think even by Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 70, 71. But see his review of M. Schiff's book in the *Bollettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., XIII, 4, p. 275.

The influence of the *Divina Commedia* was first seen, in any wide extension, in the circle of which the great Marqués was the central figure.

Of the relics of this literary movement the treasury is the *Cancionero de Baena*[1]. This was the work of Juan Alfonso de Baena, a poet who made the compilation by order of the king. It contains five hundred and seventy-six compositions, the work of sixty-two poets. It is a monument of the Italian influence on Spain; the influence of Boccaccio and Petrarch quite as much as the influence of Dante. The attitude of all the poets who compose this collection towards Dante is practically the same. He is to them the classic poet of earlier times who ranks with the great singers of antiquity.

Vergilio é Dante, Oracio é Platón[2]

says Villasandino, the troubadour—a survival—of Seville who sang or recited his own poems before king and court 'por pan e vino'; and he speaks with a sort of reverent awe

del alto poeta, rectorico Dante[3],

whom he quotes, as did so many of the Spanish writers of the Renaissance, as a moral teacher side by side with the *Disticha Catonis*:

Dante Vergylio e Caton
En poetrya fundaron[4].

Santillana himself had set Dante in the same company in the *Comedieta de Ponza.*

Villasandino also is one of those, not a few among his contemporaries, who were fascinated by the canzone 'Tre donne intorno al cor mi son venute[5],' and remembers it when he presents in his allegory, to bewail their lot, half real beings half abstract personifications, Catalina queen of Castile, la Giustizia (the 'Drittura' of Dante) and the Church of Toledo.

But the greater part of the collection of Baena is even more directly under Italian than under French influence, and other poets even more certainly than Villasandino recognize him for master. Diego de Valenza[6] for example; and Diego de Valera, who refers also to him in prose, discussing the origin and power of Fortuna 'un ministro entrado por la divinal Providencia'[1]; Fernán Pérez de Guzmán (1378—1460), 'caballero doto en toda buena dotrina' with the echo of the 'buen florentin[2]' in his *Generaciones y Semblanzas,* in his *Coplas...á la muerte del Obispo de Burgos,* and his *Setecientas,* where it is at least suggested that he had read the *Convivio*[2]. To these may be added the name of Don Pedro, Constable of Portugal, to whom Santillana wrote his famous *Prohemio.* He was thoroughly imbued with the Spanish culture of his day, had long dwelt at the court of Juan II of Castile, read Spanish poets and tried to imitate them, and he has been claimed, with considerable plausibility, as 'versado na Divina Commedia'[3]; and certainly the infant of Portugal Don João Manuel, in his *coplas* dedicated to João II, was an admirer and copyist of the *Inferno.* But when once the two pictures of a beautiful garden and of a 'selva oscura' are sought in the Spanish literature of the late fifteenth century the search is endless. They had passed, with innumerable reminiscences or distortions of the *Divina Commedia,* into the literary stock of Europe. We may pass over hosts of minor poets in whom they are found.

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[1] Madrid, 1851. [2] *Canc.*, n. 80. [3] *Ibid.*, n. 371.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 260. On this it is interesting to follow the collection of passages quoted by K. Pietsch, *Two Old Spanish Versions of the Disticha Catonis, Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, p. 8. Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, Archpriest of Talavera, in his *Corvacho ó Reprobación del amor mundano*, when he refers to 'Cato' has also a reminiscence of *Purgatorio*, xxix, 121.

[5] Canzone xx in Oxford Dante.

[6] *Canc. de Baena*, n. 227.

But one greater name remains. It is that of Juan de Mena (1411–56). He was a learned scholar far above the trivial race of court poets with whom he mixed. He had studied in Italy, he was the king's personal friend, and still more the disciple and admirer of Santillana, to whom he dedicated his poem *La Coronación.* His work is the best example of the influence of the Marqués. He says that many foreigners came to Castile for the sole object of seeing him, and to make him known he devotes poem after poem of eulogy. The eulogy was returned in language even more glowing, and the affection—like so few literary friendships—was firm till the end. Juan de Mena died in 1456, and Santillana before he followed him two years later had set up a magnificent monument in his honour in the church of Torrelaguna.

Juan de Mena certainly read Dante in the original. Dr Savj-Lopez[4] finds in the *Labyrintho,* his chief poem, no imitation at all of Dante, but Signor Farinelli is certainly right in rejecting this view, even if all the similarities pointed out by Signor Sanvisenti cannot be accepted as evidence of indebtedness. It is an elaborate and mystifying allegory, in which the author is lost in the 'selva oscura,' delivered by a fair lady who personifies the providence of God, and shown the three mystic wheels of destiny, past, future, and present, where the heroes and sinners of old time are arranged in the seven planetary circles. Not only the scheme but the style is indebted to Dante; the composition strives to follow the master and to carry out the precepts of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.* Sanvisenti[1] happily calls it 'una piccola commedia divina, ridotta ad intento schiettamente ascetico.' In the details there is much that is directly copied,—the wood, the crossing of the mysterious stream, the beautiful land in which stand the spirits of the blest: motives and situations alike as well as characters are borrowed from the *Divina Commedia.* But the three hundred *coplas* with their crabbed and elaborate prose commentary are dead for all that, and so are most of the twenty-four which were added at King Juan's request.

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[1] See Farinelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 74, 75 and *Sociedad de biblióf. españ.*, Madrid, 1878, p. 162.

[2] *Canc. de Baena*, n. 232.

[3] See the question discussed in Farinelli, pp. 76, 77.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

The *Coronación* is in some respects still more directly indebted to the *Divina Commedia.* Ticknor even says that it 'has the appearance of a parody.' The second *copla* is enough to quote:

Del qual en forma de toro
    eran sus puntos y gonces
    del copioso tesoro
    crinado de febras de oro
    do Febo moraba entónces.

Al tiempo que me hallaba
    en una selva muy brava
    de bosques Tesalianos
    ignotos á los humanos,
    yo que solo caminaba[2].

The poet goes through the *Inferno* and through the dwellings of the blest and then reaches Mount Parnassus to behold the apotheosis of Santillana. He spares no details. Dante, suggests Signor Sanvisenti with a certain unconscious humour, does not describe the 'selva selvaggia' because he had too many things to think of, but Juan de Mena is too conscientious to omit a single decoration of his fantastic vision. It is impossible to deny to him a certain dignity of expression as well as of thought: he is really a poet as well as a patriot: he has lines of what Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly calls 'even marmoreal beauty'; but he has none of the sense of rhythm and music which belongs to Santillana, his master and friend. Round the great Marqués indeed all the interest of the Dante influence in the fifteenth century revolves. When he died the surviving poets united to do him honour. The greatest memorial is the *Triunfo del Marqués,* written by his secretary Diego de Burgos.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 237.

[2] Pp. 149, 150, edition of Madrid, 1804. I have used also the Antwerp edition of 1552.

In the preface the strongest emphasis is laid on the Italian studies of the Marqués. Dante himself is made to say of him:

A mi no conviene hablar del Marqués,
Ni menos sus hechos muy altos contar,
Que tanto le devo, segun lo sabés,
Que no se podria por lengua pagar:
Sólo este mote no quiero callar
Por no parescer desagradecido,
Que si tengo fama, si soy conoscido,
Es por qu'él quiso mis obras mirar[1].

With Dante for guide the poet passes into the world beyond, and as they pass the verses that describe what they see contain constant reminiscences of the *Purgatorio* (*e.g.* i, 4, 6; viii, 19—24; xviii, 118 sqq.), and the poet says:

no pudo seguirle más la memoria
que Dante y el sueño de mi se partieron.

In Paradise there is a throne specially prepared for Santillana—as for Henry VII in *Paradiso*, xxx, 133. Dante is the appropriate guide, for as Diego de Burgos says,

leyó el Marqués con gran atencion
aquellas tres partes.

Side by side with the *Triunfo del Marqués* must be placed the poem of Santillana's nephew Gómez Manrique, *a la muerte del Marqués*[2]. This describes a fortress where the dead warrior is mourned by the Virtues and by Poesy. It is this poem which apostrophises Santillana,

¡oh fuente manante de sabiduria
por quien s'ennoblescen los regnos de España!

and proclaiming his knowledge and his skill,

en esta discreta e tan gentil arte,

declares that he 'amended' (whatever that may mean) the works of Dante.

The great Marqués was remembered, perhaps above all his honours, as 'muy gran Dantista[3].'

But the memory and imitation of Dante did not pass away from Spain with the poetical apotheosis of his great disciple. The allegory became more and more popular at the end of the fifteenth century. Pedro de Escavias in the poetic and political lament *sobre las devisiones del reyno*; the *Gracia Dei* of Jerónimo de Artés with its close imitation of the first canto of the *Inferno*, which Dr Savj-Lopez calls a 'getreue Wiedergabe[1]'; the *Decires* of Pero Guillén de Segovia, a follower of the Marqués and of Gómez Manrique; Juan de Padilla in the *Retablo de la vida de Cristo* and *Los doce triunfos de los doce Apóstoles*; Diego Guillen de Avila; Pedro Fernández de Villegas; Hernando Diaz; Francesch Carroç Pardo de la Cuesta; these are but a few of the names of imitators, translators, adapters, copyists of the episodes of Francesca and of Iseult, of the descriptions of ancient sages, of which Spanish literature for the next century is full[2]. The entire list would take long to exhaust, and indeed it is not worth following in detail. And there is throughout it the difficulty of judging who copied the *Commedia* directly, and who borrowed from the common knowledge among the poets of the age. The Spanish poets of the early sixteenth century were indeed determined plagiarists. The great age was to begin anew with the great national impulse in the drama. And it was to be a popular impulse.

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[1] *Triunfo* in *Cancionero general de H. del Castillo*, I, p. 245.
[2] *Cancionero general de H. del Castillo*, II, 164.
[3] So Jaume Ferrer de Blanes calls him.

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[1] Farinelli, p. 82, rightly protests.

[2] *E.g. Lecciones de Job.* 'Las lecciones d' Job Trobadas por vn reuerendo & deuoto religioso dela orden delos predicadores. Con vn Infierno de dañados. Es obra muy deuota y cotēplatiua. Agora nueuamente impressa. (*Esta portada está bajo de una gran viñeta, formada con tres pequeñas. Al fin se lee:*) Fue impresso este tratado enla imperial ciudad de Toledo por Remon de petras impresor de libros. Acabose a dos de setiēbre: Año de mil & d. xxiiij (1524). años. 4°. let. gót. *Son 8 hojas sin fol. con la sign. a.*

Obra diversa de la de Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, que se halla á fojas 161 del *Cancionero general* de Anveres. Tampoco encuentro el *Infierno de dañados* reimpreso en ninguna de las colecciones generales.—Esta composicion está escrita en la misma clase de metro que las *Lecciones*.—Supone el autor que arrebatado de este mundo, y acompañado de la Fe y la Esperanza, baja á los infiernos donde le van explicando los varios padecimientos de los condenados:

Estos son los lujuriosos
que quemaban sin quemarse,
estos son los orgullosos,
estos son los deseosos
de en vano fuego abrasarse;
y pues bien les pareció
el fuego que los quemó
cuando el fuego no sentian;
aquel fuego meresció
este fuego á do venian.

Despues que estos vi arder,
vi penar los avarientos.
bien hambrientos por comer,
bien hartos en padecer,
bien vestidos de tormentos:
vi desnudos los vestidos,
vi los ricos ser venidos
á ser la misma pobreza,
vi los grandes abatidos,
vi caer su fortaleza.

Vi que aquestos se quemaban
con los bienes que guardaron,
perdidos porque guardaban,
caidos pues levantaban
los bienes que aqui adoraron;
vi los ricos que quisieran
ser pobres si ellos pudieran,
pues pobreza es buena amiga;
vi que su riqueza dieran,
pues esta les fué enemiga.

Horrorizado de tantos tormentos, ruega á sus guias le saquen de aquel sitio, y termina exhortando á los cristianos á que reformen su conducta para no hacerse acreedores á tan duros castigos. Tratadito de extremada rareza.' (*Catálogo de la Biblioteca de Salvá*, no. 712.)

The influence of Dante (and even that of Boccaccio and Petrarch, though it was more widely extended) was never really a popular influence on Spain. It was the influence of the Court, of the society of a number of men, brilliant or studious, who gathered round a literary king. It was closely associated too with the foreign interests of Spanish politics and the foreign experiences of Spanish scholars. Spaniards never quoted Dante in the streets or recited his lines as they sat at work: his name, it is true, seems to have passed into a proverb[1], but it is significant that the Castilian translation of Villena was even believed to have utterly disappeared, while that of Hernando Diaz, never printed, has almost certainly perished.

But subtly his influence mingled with the atmosphere in which the great Spanish writers were bred. It reinforced the strong Catholicism, the deep and solemn faith, which is the mark of all the great writers of the great age. Though it may be difficult to trace any reminiscences or to assert any direct imitations in the poets who at last had found the strength of their splendid tongue, Lope de Vega in his sombre passages, in the strength of his imagination, Calderón in the depth of his feeling and the accuracy of his vision, even Cervantes, it may be, would not have been what they were if Dante had not been the teacher of those from whom they learnt. The influence of Dante, like the influence of the Bible and the Fathers, was a part of the inheritance which made them great. It was not confined to poetry. It had been seen from the first in prose. But the novelist as well as the dramatist and the lyric poet was an imitator of the Italians.

Thus Diego de San Pedro in the *Cárcel de amor* is a link between the romances of chivalry and the allegorical style of the semi-religious literature of Spain. Living in the fifteenth century, he employed the method of Santillana and the fourteenth century poets who had founded the fashion of playing variations on the theme of Dante. But his books were not popular works: they were 'written for the gentlemen of Castile[1].' The circle is still a circle of the court.

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[1] *E.g.* the passage in Calderón, *No hay cosa como callar*, Act. III, Esc. xvii:

Juana. Ve aquí por lo que no puede
Hacer una en este tiempo
Una obra buena. ¿No había
Siquiera un diamante viejo,
Con que decir: 'Toma, Juana?'
Mas ya el Dante no hace versos.

With Don Francisco de Quevedo y Villegas (1540—1645) we pass, in prose, into a wider sphere, and with a short account of his indebtedness to Dante, which will illustrate the use made in prose of the Dantesque 'vision' and 'allegory,' we may conclude this sketch.

Born of a family of Northern country seigneurs, he was trained as a scholar and theologian at the University of Alcalá. A statesman in Naples, a politician and pamphleteer in Spain, a man of letters, a controversialist, a typical Spaniard of his age, it was impossible that he should be untouched by the dominant influence. He received it half seriously, and utilised it satirically. The framework of the *Sueños* (Visions), which was his most popular work, is a strange parody of the *Inferno*, and it served to introduce the ideas of Dante to the populace who read only to be amused.

In the first of the *Sueños*[2], the *Sueño de las Calaveras*, which some have called the *Last Judgment*, he represented himself as falling asleep while he had been reading Dante:—'Dígolo á proposito que tengo por caido del cielo uno que yo tuve estas noches pasadas, habiendo cerrado los ojos con el libro del Dante: lo cual fué de soñar que veïa un tropel de visiones.' But what follows is a caricature rather than an adaptation. As M. Mérimée[3] puts it, Quevedo replaces the terrible figures of Dante by the grimacing creatures which he excelled in portraying. There could not be a better example of this than the contrast between the solemn dignity of the poets as they are drawn with such pathos in the fourth canto of the *Inferno* and the bitter mockery of the descriptions in the *Alguacil Alguacilado*[4] (which the old English translator calls *The Catchpole possessed*).

But the same figures of course recur in the Inferno of Quevedo whom we have seen in the *Inferno* of Dante: the Alchemists[5]; Judas, with whom Quevedo puts the fraudulent merchants[6]; the carnal lovers, the division of whom into classes seems a rough remembrance of the earlier cantos of the *Inferno*. There may be a reference to the *Inferno*[7] in the exaltation of the Patriarchs, or in the knowledge of the damned[1], the moment they enter the infernal regions, that their doom is inevitable. In the *Zahurdas de Plutón*[2] appear the diviners and soothsayers, Michael Scott 'non por hechicero y mágico, sino por mentiroso y embustero,' Michael,

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[1] J. G. Underhill, *Spanish Literature in the England of Tudors*, p. 77.

[2] Ed. in *Bibl. de Autores Españoles*, 1859, p. 298.

[3] *Essai sur la vie ét les œuvres de Francisco de Quevedo* (1886), p. 175.

[4] *El Alguazil* etc., p. 304.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 304: cf. *Purg.*, xxix, 119, 137.

[6] *Ibid.*, cf. *Purg.*, ix, 27.

[7] iv, 31 sqq.

> che veramente
> delle magiche frode seppe il gioco[3].

Cecco d' Ascoli, the poet of the *Acerba*, it may be noted in passing, also appears: 'muy triste y pelándose las barbas, porque tras tanto experimento disparatado no podia hallar nuevas necedades que escribir.' Avicenna appears among the alchemists, not as in the *Inferno*[4], among the great philosophers in Limbo, and with him Graber the Arab alchemist and, strangely, Ramon Lull. But a search for similarities leads rather to the discovery of differences; and the differences, in the treatment of Mahomet for example and of the heretics, it were tedious to detail. Whatever may be said of Quevedo's originality it is certain that he was in detail no copyist of Dante. It would be more true to say that while he knew Italian and had very likely read the *Divina Commedia*, it was only the general idea of torment, and the use of vision and allegory to set forth principles of religion and government of the truth of which he was profoundly convinced, which affected him in the work of the great Florentine. He took some of the machinery of the *Inferno*, and utilised it; vulgarised it, it may be truly said. Quevedo indeed was too much of a realist to be a true disciple of Dante. He was one whose visions of wrong in the world were bitter, unsympathetic, unchastened; and he was also of too robust, and too genuinely Spanish, a literary fibre, to owe any considerable debt to any of the great writers who had influenced the masters of Spanish literature.

We conclude then that the influence of Dante in Spain was potent but not popular. It was allied to the religious spirit which found utterance in the later Middle Age in vision and allegory, and to the spirit of patriotism which created the great ballad literature and glorified the heroes of romance. It was akin to the noble spirit of Christian chivalry which made the glory of Spain; and so it took root and blossomed into noble verse. But also it was an influence of learning, of moral depth, and of exquisite literary form, which appealed to the circle of a Court that honoured letters. It showed to poets a model which they might strive to copy after the fashion of their own land.

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[1] v, 1—23, iii, 121—3.

[2] *Obras*, pp. 320 sqq.

[3] *Inf.*, xx, 116—17.

[4] *Inf.*, iv, 143.

And so at the age of the Spanish Renaissance in its beginnings, before the greatest names had arisen, it taught what were the method and the manner of true poetry, how it was linked to the scholar's learning as well as to the priest's religion, and how there was no side of life which it might not dignify and enrich. The later influence of Dante, apart from that of the rest of the Italians, was more subtle and indirect; but it survived in the ideal, solemn and Catholic, which he set forth[1].

W. H. HUTTON.

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[1] I wish to express my very grateful thanks to Sr. D. F. de Arteaga y Pereira, who has much helped me by reading through this paper in proof, and to whose kindness I owe two of my footnotes.

THE DATE OF CHAPMAN'S 'BUSSY D'AMBOIS.'

Chapman's best known play, *Bussy D'Ambois: A Tragedie,* was entered in the Stationers' Registers for William Aspley on June 3, 1607, and published in the usual quarto form in the same year. The title-page stated that it had often been 'presented at Paules,' *i.e.* played by the children's company connected with St Paul's Grammar School, who acted 'in their own singing school' (Fleay, *History of the Stage,* p. 133) from 1600 to 1607[1]. In the latter year they seem to have ceased playing, at least in public (Fleay, p. 188), and the manuscript of *Bussy* may have been surrendered to a printer on this account.

The publication of the play furnishes, of course, only a *terminus ad quem.* The *terminus a quo* we may set, perhaps, in 1596, on February 12 of which year Chapman's *Blind Beggar of Alexandria* was brought out at the Rose by the Admiral's Men (see Henslowe's *Diary* for that date). It is hardly credible that *Bussy* in any form should have been written before this crude and amateurish play with which, so far as we know, Chapman's connection with the theatre of his day begins. We may, therefore, safely set the composition of *Bussy* between 1596 and 1607.

This leaves, however, considerable room for conjecture, and conjecture has been busy with the date of this play. The latest editor, Professor Boas, whose admirable edition has for the first time presented a scholarly and authentic text, has apparently been unwilling to commit himself on this point, but seems, if we may judge from the note on p. xii of his Introduction, to lean toward a first composition of the play before January, 1598–9[2], and a revision ca. 1606. Inasmuch as we know that Chapman subjected this play to a very thorough revision somewhere between 1607 and his death in 1634, it seems to me that we ought not to set up the hypothesis of a previous revision unless we are forced to do so. What are the facts, then, which would lead us to date the play before January, 1598–9?

We have, in the first place, an entry in the inventory of 'all the apparel of the Lord Admiral's Men,' made by Henslowe on March 13, 1598: 'Perowe's sewt, which Wm. Sley were' (Henslowe's *Diary*, ed. Collier, p. 275). On p. 153 of his *Memoirs of Actors*, Collier called attention to this entry and suggested that it referred to some character Pero, or Pierro—all things are possible in Henslowe's spelling—which Sly had played when a member of Henslowe's company. Fleay (*Biog. Chron.*, vol. I, p. 56) pointed out that Pero was a character in *Bussy*.

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[1] Mr Fleay is now inclined to hold that in these years Paul's Boys were acting at Whitefriars.

[2] The entries in Henslowe's *Diary,* to which Mr Boas refers as being in 1598, are Old Style. The true date is January 1599.

Later on, Mr Hoyt of Harvard in an unpublished paper, the substance of which is reproduced by Professor Boas in the note already referred to (*Bussy D'Ambois*, p. xii), called attention to this entry, and connecting it with two entries of loans on November 19 and 27, 1598 (Henslowe's *Diary*, pp. 113 and 110), to Borne (or Bird) to buy a costume for the part of 'the Gwisse,' (the Guise), argued that the three pointed to a production of *Bussy* in that year by Henslowe's company. I must confess that I see no force in this argument. The allusions to 'the Gwisse' may, as Collier pointed out (Henslowe's *Diary*, p. 110, note), refer to the Guise in Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris*, or more likely, to the same character in the lost plays, *The Civil Wars of France*, for which Drayton and Dekker were paid on September 29, November 3, and November 18, 1598. The Borne entries have no connection except a forced one with that in the inventory regarding 'Perowes sewt.'

The argument from this latter entry is that, inasmuch as in no extant play save *Bussy* is a character by the name of Pero introduced, we must conclude that the entry refers to this character in Chapman's play and thus proves that *Bussy* was in existence before March 13, 1598. But when we consider the immense number of plays produced at this time that have not come down to us, it becomes at once apparent that an argument of this sort can have very little weight. I think, moreover, that there is evidence of some importance against the identification of the 'Perowe' of the inventory with the 'Pero' of *Bussy D'Ambois*. In the first place, *Bussy* was performed, as we know from the title-page, by Paul's Boys. If it had been first produced by the Lord Admiral's Men one would have expected to see the fact mentioned, as an additional attraction, on the title-page[1]. Nor is there any evidence as to the manner in which the play could have passed from Henslowe's hands into those of the manager of the children's company. On this ground alone, in the absence of further evidence, we might conclude that *Bussy* was never played by the Admiral's Men. And there is a further bit of positive evidence, unnoticed so far, against this identification. 'Perowes sewt,' according to the statement of the inventory, had been worn by William Sly. Now Sly's name appears in the famous 'plot' of Tarleton's *Seven Deadly Sins,* preserved at Dulwich, and printed by Malone (Malone-Boswell, *Shakespeare,* vol. III, between pp. 348 and 349). A careful examination of this 'plot' shows that Will Sly took the rôle of Porrex in the Second Part, playing up to Burbadge's Gorboduc, and Henry Condell's Ferrex. The date of this 'plot' cannot be exactly determined, but it must be after Tarleton's death in 1588, since his name does not appear among the actors in this his own work, and before 1594, since in that year Alleyne, to whom the MS. belonged, and among whose papers it was found, broke off his connection with Lord Strange's Men, for whom, as the names of the actors show, the plot was drawn up. Now if Sly was old enough to act the part of Porrex, a young prince who aspires to the throne, before 1594, it seems certain that he was too old to take the part of Pero, a soubrette's rôle which would be assigned to a boy actor, in, or shortly before 1598. This is confirmed by the fact that in the list of actors of *Every Man in his Humour,* produced by the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1598, which is given in the First Folio of Jonson's *Works,* Sly appears as one of 'the principal comoedians,' as he does in the list added to the same edition of *Every Man out of his Humour,* acted by the same company in 1599. It is impossible to determine exactly what rôles Sly assumed in these plays, but he certainly did not take a waiting maid's part in either. I think, on this evidence, we are fairly entitled to conclude that the 'Perowes sewt' worn by William Sly, never decked the back of an actor who took the part of Pero in *Bussy D'Ambois.*

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[1] Thus *The Widow's Tears* (1612) is stated to have been performed at both the Blackfriars and the Whitefriars. The title-page of *All Fools*, however, notes only the performance at the Blackfriars and not the earlier one by the Admiral's Men.

To this argument derived from Henslowe's inventory, Dr Lehman in his introduction to a reprint of *Chabot* (vol. X of the *Series in Philology and Literature,* published by the University of Pennsylvania), adds (p. 11) that Meres in 1598 mentions Chapman as renowned in tragedy. Dr Lehman takes the reference to be to *Bussy,* inasmuch as it is 'the only known tragedy of Chapman's that could have been written thus early.' But much of Chapman's early work has perished like that of his friend Jonson, who was also commended for his tragedies by Meres, although not a single tragedy of Jonson's exists which can possibly be dated so early as 1598. A nameless play in the Egerton MSS. (No. 9994), published by Mr Bullen in vol. III of his *Old Plays* under the title of *The Distracted Emperor*, shows strong traces of Chapman's hand and is certainly an early work, which in spite of its happy ending might perhaps be classed by Meres as a tragedy. There are tragic elements in Chapman's first extant play, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, and within a few weeks after Meres' book was entered in the Stationers' Registers (September 7, 1598), we find Chapman at work on a tragedy 'of Benjamin's plot' (Henslowe's *Diary* for October 23, 1598), and on January 8 of the succeeding year he received payment in full for his tragedy. Mr Boas (p. xii, n.) asks if this tragedy may not be *Bussy*. I should be inclined to answer in the negative for reasons which will appear later on; but at any rate enough has been said to show that Meres's reference to Chapman's work in tragedy by no means implies that *Bussy* must have been written before 1598.

In an article in *Modern Language Notes* for November 1905, Dr Stoll of Harvard attempts to fix the date of *Bussy* in 1600 on the grounds that the allusion to a leap-year in I, ii, 85 (I quote lines as given in Boas's edition; the passage occurs on p. 144, col. 2 of Shepherd's edition) implies that the play was acted in a leap-year, that in I, ii, 12—18 (p. 144, col. 1) Elizabeth is spoken of as still living, and that a line in *Satiromastix* (S.R., November 11, 1601),

> For trusty D'Ambois now the deed is done,

implies the existence of *Bussy* before Dekker's play was written—presumably in the late summer of 1601. These three allusions seem to Dr Stoll to point certainly to the date 1600 for the composition of *Bussy*.

I agree that the reference to 'leap-year' gives a clue to the actual performance of the play, but this alone might refer to 1604 quite as well as to 1600. Further, Elizabeth, if referred to at all in the play, would of course be referred to as living and not as dead, since the events described therein took place some quarter of a century before her death. Accustomed as the Elizabethan audience was to anachronisms, it would have been somewhat startled to hear Elizabeth spoken of as dead by Henri III, Monsieur, and the Duke of Guise, all of whom, as it very well knew, had died before the Queen. And a point which escaped Dr Stoll's notice seems to me to prove conclusively that the allusion in question cannot be taken to establish the composition of *Bussy* in Elizabeth's lifetime. Lines 14, 15 (p. 144, col. 1):

> *Mont.* No question she's the rarest queen in Europe.
> *Guise.* But what's that to her immortality?

which very distinctly allude to Elizabeth as still living, were, as a matter of fact, written after her death. They do not appear in the Quartos of 1607 and 1608, but were added when the play was revised some time between 1608 and 1634. So far from the allusions to Elizabeth in this passage fixing the date of *Bussy* before her death, the phrase 'old queen' (l. 12) goes far, I think, to show that the play was written after that event. It is hard to believe that such a phrase would be spoken in the last years of Elizabeth's life by an actor in the company of the children of her own chapel, and it was for this company that Chapman was writing in 1600.

The line from *Satiromastix* is an interesting reference and certainly deserves consideration. It is put into the mouth of Captain Tucca, who like Ancient Pistol, is forever spouting play-ends, such as 'Go by, Jeronimo,' or 'feed and be fat, my fair Calipolis.' It is not improbable, then, that the line in question is a quotation from some play in which Bussy D'Ambois appeared. But it is not found in Chapman's play, nor does that play contain any line which could be parodied in this form. After all, there is no inherent improbability in believing that there may have been a play on the subject of Bussy, or that Bussy may have appeared as a character in a play written before Chapman's tragedy, possibly in Dekker's lost play, *The Civil Wars of France.* There are a number of things in Chapman's work which suggest that he may have been at times using an earlier play on the subject. And so, although I agree with Fleay that the line points to the existence of the character of Bussy upon the boards of the Elizabethan stage before 1601, I cannot hold with Dr Stoll that it fixes the date of Chapman's *Bussy* before that year[1].

Turning then to the date 1604 suggested by Mr Fleay, we find that the argument for it rests, first of all, upon an allusion to the new-made knights of James I. Dr Stoll waives this aside rather contemptuously, and implies, indeed, that it is non-existent, but the allusion is perfectly plain. In I, ii, 135—6 (p. 145, col. 1) Guise is said to mistake Bussy for 'some knight of the new edition,' which can only be a contemptuous reference to the knights created in such numbers by James I immediately after his accession. This allusion is strengthened by another in the same scene, I, ii, 193—4 (p. 146, col. 1), in which Guise is said to suppose Bussy to be 'some new denizen'd lord,' *i.e.* some lord, newly settled in the country, a palpable allusion to the Scots who flocked into England in the train of James, and for whose naturalisation ('to denizen' = 'to naturalise,' *New English Dictionary*) the king was already pressing. These allusions fix the date of composition after the accession of James in 1603; and if the allusion to leap-year have any bearing upon the date, we are shut up to 1604, as the only leap-year between James's accession and the publication of the play.

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[1] It is just possible that the allusion in *Satiromastix* has no reference to any play, but alludes directly to the historical Bussy. Bussy was a personage of considerable importance in his day, as is shown by the references to him in the despatch of the Venetian Ambassador, November 15, 1578, in the letters of Saracini to the Grand Duke of Tuscany (*Négotiations diplomatiques de la France avec la Toscane*, Tome IV), and in the works of Brantôme, Pierre de L'Estoile, D'Aubigné, and Marguerite de Valois. The news of his murder reached England while his master, the Duke of Anjou, was in that country pressing his suit to Elizabeth and so would naturally excite special interest then. No source is known of Chapman's *Bussy*, since the historical accounts are all too late to have been used by him, but it seems likely that his play was founded upon some account in French or English of Bussy's life and death, which is yet unknown to us. Such an account may, however, have been known to Dekker, and the name of Bussy can hardly have been unknown to the author of *The Civil Wars of France.*

Mr Boas in the note on p. xii of his Introduction dismisses Fleay's statement that the date 1604 is determined in this manner as 'only an ingenious conjecture.' But I think it is something more than that. The whole passage runs as follows:

> *Tam.* Has he [*i.e.* Bussy] never been courtier, my lord?
> *Mons.* Never, my lady.
> *Beau.* And why did the toy [*i.e.* the fancy to become courtier] take him in th' head now?
> *Bussy.* 'Tis leap-year, lady, and therefore very good to enter a courtier.
>
> *Bussy D'Ambois*, I, ii, 80—86 (p. 144, col. 2).

The whole point of Bussy's unsavoury jest lies in the fact that it was a leap-year when he was 'entered courtier.' Only one of two things can have suggested this jest to the author, either that it was a leap-year when the historical Bussy first appeared at court, or that it was a leap-year when the play was being composed for presentation. But the first date was probably unknown to Chapman, certainly unknown to the audience who could not, therefore, be expected to understand the jest, and, as a matter of fact, happens to be 1569 which is not a leap-year. Evidently then the author was thinking not of the past, but of the present, and alluded to a year in which his play was, or was meant to be, actually performed. The anachronism involved would trouble neither him nor his audience in their enjoyment of the jest. It has been suggested to me that this jest is more likely a stage 'gag' which has crept into the text than the composition of Chapman. Even so it would have the same bearing upon the date, for it could only have crept in in 1604, since the play, as we have seen, cannot have been composed before 1603.

The date 1604, moreover, would explain, as Fleay has suggested (*Biog. Chronicle*, vol. I, pp. 59, 60), how the play got into the hands of Paul's Boys. In 1604–5 Chapman was writing for the Children at Blackfriars, as shown by their performance of his *All Fools* at court on January 1, 1605, and by their production of *Eastward Ho* at Blackfriars in the summer of the same year. In 1604 Edward Kirkham, as we know from the proceedings in Chancery discovered by Mr Greenstreet and published in full by Fleay (*History of the Stage*, pp. 210—251), was one of the managers of this company. In 1605, possibly as a result of the scandal caused by *Eastward Ho*, Kirkham left this company and joined Paul's Boys. On March 31, 1606, he appears as 'one of the masters' of this company (*Revels Accounts*, p. xxxviii). It is natural to suppose that he took the MS. of *Bussy* with him. Whether it had been previously performed by the Children at Blackfriars we cannot say with positive certainty.

Finally this date, 1604, puts *Bussy* nearer the series of plays dealing with French history which bulk so largely in Chapman's work. The *Byron* plays were, as we know, performed in the spring of 1608[1] (see Von Raumer, *Letters from Paris, etc.*, vol. II, p. 219, where the despatch of La Boderie concerning this play is given in full. The original is in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 15984). The *Revenge of Bussy*, almost certainly later than these plays, and certainly later than Grimeston's *General Inventory* (1607), from which large portions of it were drawn (Boas, *Bussy*, p. xxxii), was entered S.R., April 17, 1612, and may therefore be dated some time between 1609 and 1612. And *Chabot*, in its original form, was probably not much later since its source is found in the 1611 edition of Estienne Pasquier's *Les Recherches de la France*[2].

Mathematical certainty is, as all students of Elizabethan drama know, seldom attainable in attempts to date a play; but the evidence for 1604 as the date of composition for *Bussy* appears to me fairly convincing. There may have been another play on the subject, or one in which the hero appeared as one of the characters, as early as 1600; but Chapman's play, as it appeared in 1607, cannot, I think, be dated before 1604.

Bussy D'Ambois was reissued in 1608. This is not a new edition, but a mere reissue of the first with a different date on the title-page.

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[1] The date in the English translation of the *Letters* is 1605, a mere misprint. The German original has 1608.

[2] Professor Koeppel in his invaluable study on the sources of Chapman (*Quellen und Forschungen*, 1897), mentions the 1621 edition; but so far as the Chabot story goes, this is only a reprint of the text of 1611. The story first appears in the 1607 edition, but certain details which Chapman made use of were first added in 1611.

In 1641, however, a new edition of the play was published with the following title-page: 'Bussy D'Ambois: | A | Tragedie: | As it hath been often Acted with | great Applause. | Being much corrected and amended | by the Author before his death. | London. | Printed by A. N. for Robert Lunne. | 1641.' This edition represents a thorough-going revision of the play. There are numerous omissions, one of a passage of fifty lines at the beginning of II, ii, many additions, and constant changes in the diction. Most modern editions give us a mosaic of the two versions, and as a result, the reader is never sure whether any particular passage belongs to the first or the second edition. This confusion has led to some very natural mistakes. Thus Professor Koeppel, in the article already referred to, notes (pp. 15, 16, n.) that Bussy's reference to Vespasian (V, iv, 90—93, p. 175, col. 1) is found in Pierre Matthieu's account of the execution of Biron, which (or rather the English translation of which by Grimeston) Chapman used for his *Byron* plays. Curiously enough, this characteristic passage does not appear in these plays, and Professor Koeppel suggests that it was omitted because Chapman had already made use of it in *Bussy*. But the passage in *Bussy* only occurs in the second edition, and is therefore later than 1607, and presumably later than the *Byron* plays. Again, Dr Root in his review of Boas's *Bussy* (*Englische Studien*, vol. xxxvii, 1906) attempts to fix the date of the composition of the play by the reference to the 'Irish wars' (IV, i, 153, 154, p. 164, col. 2), which he takes as alluding to Mountjoy's suppression of the Tyrone rebellion in 1601–3. But this allusion, also, occurs only in the second edition and is therefore of no value as evidence for the date of the first composition of *Bussy*.

Thanks to the *apparatus criticus* which Mr Boas has included in his edition of *Bussy*, we are now enabled to separate the old from the new in this play, and mistakes of this sort should henceforth be impossible. A careful consideration of the variants presented by Mr Boas, has led me to believe that it is possible to fix the date of the revision of *Bussy* more precisely, and at the same time much earlier, than has yet been done. The only attempt, so far as I know, to fix the date of this revision is that of Fleay (*Biog. Chron.*, vol. I, p. 60), who speaks of it as 'one of the latest of Chapman's literary occupations' and states a few lines below that 'the corrections and emendations made "by the author before his death" were the very last writing left us of his pen.' I suppose the ground for Mr Fleay's assertion is the statement he cites here from the title-page, *i.e.* that the play was 'much corrected and amended by the author before his death.' On the face of it one is inclined, I think, to take this phrase as meaning 'shortly before his death'; but this is not absolutely necessary, and I think no such meaning is implied in this instance. Consider the circumstances. Chapman had been dead seven years when it occurred to a publisher to get out a new edition of his best-known tragedy. The manuscript which he secured differed at many points from the old printed copy. This was a point in his favour, since it allowed him to assure the public that this was something more than a mere reissue of the old edition. But who had made these changes? The author, so he was informed, perhaps by a member of the company to whom the MS. had belonged (the King's Men, see below), and as the author had been dead these seven years, the corrections, of course, were made before his death. And so we get the statement of the title-page. It is a publisher's puff, and does not, I think, contribute at all toward dating the revision.

The clue to this date may be found in the curious prologue prefixed to the revised *Bussy*. There is a careful discussion of this poem in Boas's *Bussy*, p. 145, to which I refer the reader. It was evidently written on the occasion of a revival of this play by the King's Men. This we know from its mention of Field, who had been a member of their body from ca. 1616 to ca. 1625, and from the fact that a performance of *Bussy* by this company was given at Court on April 7, 1634 (Malone-Boswell, *Shakespeare*, vol. III, p. 237), about a month before the old poet's death. Possibly it was for this performance, and not for one 'shortly before 1641,' as Boas suggests, that the prologue was written.

The mention of Field is an interesting one and throws light, I believe, upon the stage-history of the play. In ll. 15, 16 we find the phrase:

> Field is gone
> Whose action first did give it [*i.e.* the play] name.

If this be taken literally, it means that Field was the first actor to give the play a reputation, *i.e.*, as the sequel shows, to create the part of Bussy. If this be so, we must suppose that *Bussy*, written in 1604, was first performed by the Children at Blackfriars, and that Field, whose name appears at the head of the lists of this company, annexed to *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and the *Poetaster* (1601), in the Jonson Folio of 1616, took the part of Bussy. There is nothing inherently impossible in this; yet it seems unlikely that in a prologue written for the King's Men, perhaps in 1634, perhaps between 1634 and 1641, the writer should have referred to Field's early performances with another company. It is more natural, I think, to suppose that he is alluding to Field's performances of this part for the King's Men. And this assumption is strengthened by the general tone of the prologue. It says in substance that the company has been forced to revive this play in order not to abandon their claim upon it by default, since it had lately been produced with success by another company. Yet they are at a loss as to who shall take the principal rôle: Field is gone and the unnamed actor who 'came nearest him' (*i.e.* who took the part after Field retired) is now too old 'to shew the height and pride of D'Ambois' youth.' Therefore in default of these a third man is put forward to defend their interest. He has been liked as Richard, and with proper encouragement he will be able to sustain the part of Bussy[1].

If we take it then that the writer of the prologue is referring to Field's performances for the King's Men, the meaning is that he was the first actor to play the part of Bussy for that company. A brief sketch of Field's life will show the significance of this.

Nat. Field, player and playwright, was born in 1587 and went on the stage as a boy of thirteen or younger. He was one of the Chapel Children in 1600 (see the list of actors annexed to *Cynthia's Revels*), and remained with this company after its reorganisation in 1604 as the Children of Her Majesty's Revels (Patent of January 30, 1603–4, printed in Collier's *English Dramatic Poetry*, vol. I, p. 353, n.) until their theatre, the 'private house' at Blackfriars, was resumed (Dec. 25, 1609, Fleay, *London Stage*, p. 190) by its owners, the Burbages, for the use of their own company, the King's Men. Thereupon, under a patent, January 4, 1609–10, granted to Rosseter (Collier, vol. I, pp. 372 and 396), a new company under the same title, the Queen's Revels' Children, was organised to play at the private house in Whitefriars. One of the first plays performed by them at this theatre was Jonson's *Epicoene*, in the list of actors annexed to which Field's name stands first. By this time Field had become poet and playwright as well as actor. A copy of his verses is prefixed to *The Faithful Shepherdess*, published before May 3, 1610, and his first play, *Woman is a Weathercock* (S.R., November 23, 1611), was produced by the Queen's Revels' Children (see title-page of this play) at Whitefriars, probably in the preceding year. To this play there are prefixed commendatory verses by Chapman addressed to 'his loved son Nat. Field.' In March 1612 Rosseter's company, *i.e.* the Queen's Revels' Children, united with Henslowe's company (see *Alleyne Papers*,

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[1] This third man, by the way, was probably Ilyard (or Hilliard, or Eliard) Swanston who is known to have played Bussy (Gayton, *Pleasant Notes on Don Quixote*, 1654, p. 25), and who had assumed the part of Ricardo in Massinger's *The Picture*, as appears from the list of actors prefixed to the first quarto of that play (1629).

p. 78), and Field seems to have kept up some connection with Henslowe both as actor and playwright till the latter's death in January 1616 (see *Alleyne Papers*, pp. 78 ff. and Field's letters to Henslowe in Malone-Boswell, *Shakespeare*, vol. III, pp. 337–8). As his name does not appear among the actors who signed an agreement with Alleyne on March 20, 1616, it is probable that he left this company immediately after Henslowe's death (*Alleyne Papers*, p. 129). His name next appears in a privy seal issued to the King's Men in 1619; but as it is not found in the Patent granted to the company by Charles I immediately after his accession in 1625, it is reasonably certain that he had withdrawn from the stage before that time. His death occurred early in 1632–3.

The verses by Chapman prefixed to *Woman is a Weathercock* show in what esteem the poet held the actor. Field as a member of the Children at Blackfriars had no doubt taken part in many of Chapman's plays. *Sir Giles Goosecap, May-Day, All Fools, Monsieur D'Olive* (probably also *The Gentleman Usher*), *The Widow's Tears, Eastward Ho*, and *The Conspiracy* and *Tragedy of Byron* were all performed by these Children. During Field's connection with the Queen's Revels' Children at Whitefriars, as we know from the title-pages of the plays in question, that company revived *The Widow's Tears* and brought out *The Revenge of Bussy.*

Now what I have to suggest is that during this time, ca. 1610–13, Field took up *Bussy D'Ambois*, in which it is possible, though not certain, that he had already acted (see above, p. 134), and which had been published after the withdrawal of its owners, Paul's Boys, from public performances. He induced Chapman to give the play a thorough revision, possibly put his own knowledge of stage-craft at the poet's disposal, and produced the play at Whitefriars. Its success was such that he asked Chapman to write a sequel, or second part, which the poet did under the title of *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois.* The title-page of the only old edition of this play, 1613, tells us that it had been 'often presented at the Whitfriers.' But we cannot imagine that it was ever a successful play and it was perhaps for this reason that the actors allowed Chapman to send it to press. The revised *Bussy*, however, remained in MS., passed along with Field to the King's Men, and remained in their possession till the very eve of the closing of the theatres, when they allowed it to be printed in 1641.

This revision of *Bussy* with a view to its production at Whitefriars under Field is only a hypothesis; but it can, I believe, be supported by several bits of evidence. In the first place, it explains, as nothing else so far put forward does, the way in which *Bussy* came into the hands of the King's Men, a company with whom Chapman had no connection and who never acted any other play of his. It explains also the connection between Field and the title-rôle of *Bussy* mentioned in the Prologue to the 1641 edition. Further, if Chapman were assisted by Field, or even advised by him, in the revision of this play, we should have a sufficient explanation of the superiority of the revised edition of *Bussy*, not only to all Chapman's other tragedies, but to the first form of that play itself. Such passages as I, i, 208—290; I, ii, 100—114; II, i, 210—218; II, ii, 177—181; III, i, 1—2, 45—61; III, ii, 131—8, 311—312, the dialogue between Monsieur and Maffé (III, ii, 337—369), 400—8; IV, i, 236; IV, ii, 1—19, 28 (half-line)—30; V, i, 1—4, 42—44; V, ii, 53—59; V, iii, 15—16, 85—98; V, iv, 16—22, 33—36, 186—7 —all additions to the first form—are all of one sort. With hardly an exception, they add nothing to the poetic value of the play, but they do in every case add to its stage effects by inserting touches of humour, by linking a scene with what has preceded, or by furnishing a motive for what is to come, and by making the situation clearer to the spectator. Further instances of alteration for stage effect are the shifting of Montsurry into II, i, by which he becomes a witness of the pardon granted by the king to Bussy. This shift permits a cut of fifty lines to be made at the beginning of the next scene without any damage to the construction. The change in the last act by which the long philosophic dialogue between Monsieur and Guise was transferred to its present place, V, ii, from its former situation immediately before the catastrophe, is a distinct dramatic improvement which must have been at once noticed upon the stage. And when one considers the sublime indifference which Chapman shows in *The Revenge of Bussy* and the *Byron* plays for the requirements of the stage, one feels that he must have had some expert advice before he made so many improvements of this nature, and I know of no one at any time who was so likely to give Chapman advice on this matter as his 'son,' the actor-playwright Field, nor any time at which Field was so likely to have given him such advice as between 1610 and 1612, when the actor was apparently at the head of the Whitefriars company.

Again, if *Bussy* had been successfully revived by Field at this theatre, we get a perfectly satisfactory explanation of the poet's composing *The Revenge of Bussy* for Field's company. Otherwise we must imagine that, although *Bussy* had been laid aside since 1607 when its owners, Paul's Boys, ceased to play, Field nevertheless called on Chapman between 1610 and 1611 to produce a sequel to it. For *The Revenge* is palpably a play made to order. It has a striking title and a good motive, but the theme is so little to Chapman's taste that he handles it in the coldest fashion possible, and being unable to invent matter enough to fill up the required five acts, bolsters up two of them with an episode taken from a book he had just been reading, Grimeston's *General Inventory*, which had not the slightest connection with the central subject.

If *Bussy* was revised, as I believe, between 1610 and 1612 for Field's company, one might expect to get some internal evidence of this in the added passages. But, as I have shown, many of the additions, most of them, in fact, were simply bits of 'business' in which one can hardly expect to find allusions that would help us to fix the date. Yet two such allusions may, I believe, be found among the added passages. The first of these is the reference to Vespasian, V, iv, 90—93 (p. 175, col. 1), which, as Professor Koeppel has pointed out, comes from Pierre Matthieu, and may well have been suggested to Chapman by the English translation of that historian, Grimeston's *General Inventory*, which he used in 1607–8 for his *Byron* plays. The second is the allusion to the Irish wars in IV, i, 153—4 (p. 164, col. 2). I know of nothing in Irish history between 1607 and 1634—and between these dates the lines were certainly written—to which Chapman can be referring except to the conspiracy and flight of Tyrone and Tyrconnel in 1607 and the promptly crushed rising of Sir Cahir O'Doherty in 1608[1].

Finally, there is a correspondence between a passage in *The Revenge* and in the revised *Bussy* which appears to me to settle the matter. The second scene of the first act of *The Revenge* is in setting and atmosphere remarkably reminiscent of the earlier play. We find here Tamyra sitting on the ground where Bussy was slain, mourning his death, and kissing the blood-stained floor. To her enters her husband, Montsurry, who upbraids her in the following terms:

> Still on this haunt? Still shall adulterous blood
> Affect thy spirits? Think, for shame, but this,
> This blood, that cockatrice-like thus thou brood'st
> Too dry is to breed any quench to thine.

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[1] Possibly another link with Grimeston may be found in Maffé's epithet for Bussy, 'the man of blood' (III, ii, 389, p. 160, col. 2), a phrase which does not occur in the first Quarto. Grimeston (p. 818, edition of 1611) speaks of Bussy as 'a bloody, wicked, and a furious man.' The epithet may have stuck in Chapman's memory; I do not wish to lay stress on this point, but in connection with the above, it is, I think, worth noting.

> And therefore now (if only for thy lust
> A little cover'd with a veil of shame)
> Look out for fresh life, rather than witch-like
> Learn to kiss horror and with death engender.
> *The Revenge of Bussy*, II, ii, 25—32 (p. 165, col. 1).

The diction, no less than the situation, is reminiscent of the earlier play. The last line of the passage is lifted almost bodily out of *Bussy*:

> For lust ; kiss horror and with death engender.
> *Bussy D'Ambois*, III, ii, 502 (p. 162, col. 1),

a line which is found in both editions of *Bussy*. The third and fourth lines are so distinctly reminiscent of a line in *Bussy*, that they seem to me to have been composed, consciously or unconsciously, upon it as a model:

> Come, siren, sing, and dash against my rocks
> Thy ruffian galley [*i.e.*, Bussy] rigg'd with quench for lust.
> *Bussy D'Ambois*, V, i, 67, 68 (p. 169, col. 2).

The similarity is unmistakable. In *Bussy* the hero is spoken of as a galley 'rigg'd with quench' (a curious but characteristic phrase) for Tamyra's lust. In *The Revenge* his blood is said to be 'too dry to breed any quench' to her blood (*i.e.* passion), and the likeness in diction is strengthened by the occurrence of the word 'lust' in the fourth line of *The Revenge* passage. Such a likeness cannot, I think, be accidental.

Now the interesting fact is that this likeness exists only between *The Revenge* and the revised *Bussy*. In the 1607 quarto of the latter the line in question reads:

> Thy ruffin Gallie, laden for thy lust,

in which the peculiar phrase 'quench for lust' is missing, the very phrase that constitutes the main point of likeness between the passages. Now one of two things must have taken place. Either the passage in *Bussy* was revised before *The Revenge* was written, and Chapman when writing this scene in the latter, a scene in every way reminiscent of the earlier work, of which this passage elsewhere echoes the diction, consciously, or not, reproduced with slight changes the diction of a line that was fresh in his mind; or else the revision of *Bussy* was effected after *The Revenge* at some indefinite date between 1613 and 1634, and Chapman in this revision harked back to *The Revenge* for the phrase 'quench for lust.' The latter alternative seems to me, I am free to say, so unlikely as to be psychologically impossible. If we accept the first alternative, we have a simple process and a single connection between *Bussy* and *The Revenge*; Chapman used in the passage cited from *The Revenge* a line which was fresh in his mind from his work in revising *Bussy*, as he used another line later on in the same passage, which appears in both forms of *Bussy*. If we reject this alternative we must imagine that Chapman first lifted a line from the first form of *Bussy* when composing *The Revenge*, and afterwards when revising *Bussy* turned back to *The Revenge* for the phrasing of a line he retouched in this revision. There can be little doubt, I think, as to which process is the more likely to have occurred. Standing by itself, perhaps, this argument would not be conclusive, but coming as it does, in the wake of preceding indications and probabilities, it seems to me proof, as decisive as we can expect to find in these questions, that *Bussy* was revised before *The Revenge* was written.

Fortunately we can date the *Revenge* between comparatively narrow limits. It was entered in the Stationers' Registers on April 17, 1612, and the title-page states that it had often been presented at Whitefriars. We must therefore put its composition somewhere before 1612. Moreover, the episode of the seizure of Clermont, which occupies Acts III—IV, is, as Mr Boas has shown (*Bussy*, p. xxxiv, and pp. 313—319), taken directly from Grimeston's *General Inventory*, 1607. This episode in the original is a conclusion, or, so to speak, an epilogue to the tragic story of the Duke of Biron, and it is certainly most likely that Chapman who used Grimeston's work for his two plays on Biron composed them first—they were on the stage early in 1608—and reverted to Grimeston later, when at a loss for material for *The Revenge of Bussy*. We are then, I think, quite safe in dating this play in 1610 or 1611. If, therefore, the revision of *Bussy* preceded the composition of the *Revenge*, this revision must date, at any rate, before 1611. I should imagine that it was brought about by the success of scandal which attended his *Byron* plays, and which would naturally suggest to Field a profitable revival of *Bussy* at his new theatre, Whitefriars, in 1610.

Summing up the whole matter then, I would say that a careful examination of all the evidence connected with *Bussy D'Ambois* points clearly to the conclusion that this play was composed in 1603–4 for the Children at Blackfriars and was revised in 1610—after *Byron* and before *The Revenge*—for the Children of the Queen's Revels at Whitefriars[1].

T. M. PARROTT.

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[1] I have purposely avoided all reference in this article to aesthetic tests, but I may say in conclusion that a consideration of the highly developed blank verse, the grasp of character, and the constructive dramatic ability revealed in *Bussy*, seem to me to point certainly to a composition of this play after, rather than before 1600.

NOTES ON SOME ENGLISH UNIVERSITY PLAYS.

RICHARDUS TERTIUS.

By Dr T. Legge. This play which has been frequently printed is also preserved in manuscripts of Caius College (125), Emmanuel College (1. 3. 19), the University Library, Cambridge and the Bodleian (MS. Tanner 306, fol. 42). The last contains the first 'actio' only.

The play is dated in the University Library MS. 'Comitii Bacchalaureorum A.D. 1579' [*i.e.*, $15\frac{79}{80}$]. This date is confirmed by the list of actors given in the Emmanuel MS. which shows also that the play was acted at St John's College. The Bodleian MS. has also a list of actors and the appended note 'Acted in S^{t}. John's Hall before the Earle of Essex 17 March 1582' [presumably $158\frac{2}{3}$]. Two things are noticeable about this note; first, that the list of actors agrees with that of the Emmanuel MS. and therefore belongs to the year $15\frac{79}{80}$: secondly, that the date '17 March 1582' is apparently in a different hand from that of the rest of the note. This is at least my own view, and it is partially confirmed by Mr F. Madan of the Bodleian, who kindly replied to a query on the subject 'The date "17 March 1582" may reasonably be thought to be, if not in a different hand, yet added *at another time* by the scribe of the play.' Under these circumstances I am disposed to doubt whether any credit is to be given to this statement of date[1]. We know that at the time of the original performance Lord Essex was an undergraduate in Cambridge. In the spring of 1583, so far as we know, he was at his home in Pembrokeshire.

VICTORIA.

A Latin Comedy (c. 1580) by Abraham Fraunce (Bang's *Materialien*, XIV). Since I published this play in 1906, a good deal more has come to light about it. For what is more important I must refer the reader to Professor Keller's review of the play on page 177, but I may perhaps take this opportunity of correcting an error in my Introduction, p. xxi. where I speak—like better men before me—of Watson's *Amyntas* as a translation of Tasso's *Aminta*. Mr W. W. Greg reminds me that the two works are quite different in character, as he showed in the *Modern Language Quarterly* for Dec. 1904. With regard to the life of Fraunce, I ought to have referred to the article 'Sidneiana' by Professor Koeppel in *Anglia*, x, 522; xi, 25. I should also have mentioned the reference to Fraunce in Donne's *Satire VII* (written after 1603), addressed to Sir Nicholas Smith of Larkbeare, Exeter (ob. 1622):

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[1] Mr G. B. Churchill in *Palaestra*, x, p. 267, has questioned its correctness, but not noticed the difference of handwriting. Professor Keller suggests that the play was given again in 1583 and this date wrongly added to the preceding note.

> Destroy'd thy symbol is. O dire mischance!
> And O vile verse! And yet our Abraham Fraunce
> Writes thus, and jests not. Good Fidus for this
> Must pardon me. Satires bite when they kiss.

'Fidus' is, I suppose, Sir Nicholas Smith, and it would therefore seem that Fraunce was a friend of Smith's and probably known to Donne also.

PEDANTIUS.

The following remarks are supplementary to my edition of this Latin comedy published in 1905 (Bang's *Materialien*, VIII).

Perhaps *Pedantius*, ll. 2482–4: 'Laurea et Lingua sunt etiam fœminini generis, sed lingua potissimum' or Harington's reference to them in his note appended to Book XIV of his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, suggested a passage in Marston's *What you will*, Act II, where the Pedant—also commenting on 'Cedant arma togæ, concedat laurea linguæ'—asks 'Why is lingua the feminine gender?' and goes on 'lingua is declined with hæc the feminine because it is a household stuff, particularly belonging and most commonly resident under the roof of women's mouths.' I would suggest that there is another reference to *Pedantius* in the *Pilgrimage to Parnassus* (ed. Macray), l. 217, 'an ould sober Dromeder' where for 'Dromeder' we should read 'Dromidot.' We may remember that Nashe in *Strange News* speaks of 'any *Dromidote* Ergonist' (no doubt with reference to *Pedantius*). I would supplement my account of the life of Edward Forsett, the probable author of the play, by pointing out that he was called as a witness to conversations overheard in the Tower at the trial of the Jesuit Garnet on March 28, 1606, and that he is described in the *State Trials* as 'a man learned and a justice of peace.' He had probably only lately been appointed justice. In the *Middlesex Sessions Rolls*, vol. II, 'Edward Forsett esq.' is shown as acting as a justice at various dates between Aug. 7, 4 James I (1606) and July 20, 20 James I (1622)[1].

[1] pp. 22, 34, 47, 61, 68, 70, 75, 94, 118, 124, 167.

TIMON.

Ed. Dyce, 1842. This is clearly an academical play, but its authorship, date and place of production are not known. I should be inclined however to assign it to Cambridge and to the years 1581–90. In its satire of the rhetorician Demeas (II, 2) and the Aristotelian philosophers Stilpo and Speusippus it resembles *Pedantius*, which in my edition I have dated 1581. There is also a verbal coincidence between the two plays which can hardly be accidental. In *Timon* II, 4, Demeas is made to say: 'I an orator not an arator.' Pedantius speaks similarly (l. 1191): 'Sciebam me Oratorem, non Aratorem...esse.' It is obvious that the play on words is much more natural in Latin than in English.

PSYCHE ET FILII EJUS.

The Latin play to which I have given this name is found in the Bodleian MS. 14663 (otherwise called Rawl. MSS. poet. 171) fo. 60. It is described as a tragedy 'de lugentis Angliæ facie,' from a line in the Prologue:

> Lugentis Angliæ faciem dum Poeta pingeret.

The Bodleian cataloguer says it deals chiefly with the evils of heresy, and apparently belongs to the reign of James I.

The following Argument of the play is given in the Prologue:

> Psyche bis quatuor filios erudiendos dedit
> Thelimati pedagogo. iuvenum is indulget lusibus
> Cum Psyche in somniis monita, quod si beari caperet
> Legeret e Pæsto rosam[1], quamprimum Eroti filio
> Decrevit curam. Is Pæstum mittitur. Mysus hoc ægre devorat.
> Prælatum Erota clamitat et fratrum animos
> Irritat stimulis odii, sed frustra Euphrosynen
> Cum Thraso et Elpide tentat ab Erote ducere.
> Hinc dolos parat. opere Thelimatis Erota et comites capit.
> Elpis evadens laqueum hæc matri nuntiat.
> Mater accitos in unum filios tradit Philosopho,
> Sanius hic mores præcipit et fingit animos.
> En prodit Thelima.

The characters in the piece are Thelima, Eros, Misos, Euphrosyne, Thrasos, Orge, Elpis, Lype, Phobus, Psyche [Philosophus].

One might be at a loss to see how the allegory bears on the sad state of England or the prevalence of heresy, but for the choruses nominally attached to each of the five acts, but written together at the end of the play.

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[1] Was the author acquainted with the *Romance of the Rose*? In that poem (of which the English version was then attributed entirely to Chaucer) the characters are mostly allegorical, Idleness, Hatred, etc., and the story is that of a lover who seeks to pluck a rose.

From these we see that Psyche is England, Eros the English Catholics, Misos heresy.

> Erotis schemate omnes Catholici latent,
> Hos Mysus premit, Mysus quem hæresim nuncupo.

Thelima, the too-indulgent pedagogue, is Free-will, Philosophus, I suppose, the Pope, or the Church, Orge the populace.

> Thelima hanc pestem fovet,
> Magnatum scandala timeat qui incusat Thelima...
> Orgen (populum intellige) movent
> In mitem Erota....
> Erota gementem inspice et Catholicum vides
> Vinctum catenis deditum in Lypes carcerem.

Finally we get a passage which perhaps throws a little light on the genesis of the play:

> Elpis evasit manus cruenti Mysi,
> Sic hæresis rabiem pauci qui Bætim modo
> Tyberim aut Pysuergam bibunt, det illis numen faciles
> In Angliam reditus.

'As Hope escaped the hands of bloody Hate, so have those few escaped the rage of heresy who now drink the waters of Bætis, Tiber or Pysuerga, may heaven grant them an easy return to England.' The Bætis is the Guadalquivir on which stands Seville, the Pisuerga is the river of Valladolid which falls eventually into the Douro.

Having reached this point, I felt sure that the play emanated from Seville or more probably Valladolid, as a Catholic sympathizer at a distance would be hardly likely to introduce the non-classical name Pisuerga, even if he knew it, into his Latin verse. But were there communities of Catholic exiles at Seville and Valladolid such as to be likely to give birth to the play?

The question was soon answered. It appeared that under the energetic direction of the Jesuit, Father Robert Parsons, little Colleges of English students were established at both places, that at Valladolid in 1590, that at Seville in 1592. The Diary of the English College of Douay[1] records under the year 1589: '8° Maii. Hispaniam ad urbem quæ Valladolid dicitur, ut ibi in seminarium cooptarentur, missi sunt D. Henricus Floidus diaconus, D. Ioannes Blackphan et D. Ioannes Boswell, S. Theologiæ studiosi.' A letter written by Father Parsons to the Pope from Seville on April 15, 1593[2], after speaking of the two English colleges at Valladolid and Seville says they contain more than 100 persons and every day the number goes on increasing. It states moreover that Valladolid received a subsidy of 1700 scudi a year from the King of Spain, while Seville received no such subsidy but was supported by other charitable contributions. A paper of Father William Holt[1] (1596) speaks of a third college which Father Parsons had founded at St Omer (in 1594) for boys 'qui inde ad duo illa seminaria Hispaniæ mittuntur,' and a letter of Dr Richard Barret[2] of 28 September, 1596, gives the then numbers of the students. 'Hispali [at Seville] in Hispania 70 et Valisoleti (at Valladolid) totidem erudiuntur: apud S^{tum} Audomarum (at St Omer's) in Belgio 40 sub eadem societate.'

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[1] *Records of the English Catholics*, I, 1878, p. 224.

[2] *Letters of Cardinal Allen* (*Records of the English Catholics*) 1882.

We get a vivid picture of the community at Valladolid in a pamphlet called 'A Relation of the King of Spaines Receiving in Valliodolid and in the Inglish College of the same towne in August last paste of this yere 1592. VVryten by an Inglish Priest of the same College. Anno 1592.' (No place or printer.) Even at that date the college had risen 'from six or seaven persons that began the same unto above seventie.' It had even incurred the notice of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh; and the Royal Proclamation of November, 1591, had told how 'the King of Spaine...had dealt with Cardinal Allen and father Persons to gather together...upon his charges a multitude of dissolute youth to begin this Seminarie of Valliodolid and others in Spain.' Such a description of the inmates of the college is repudiated by the Valladolid chronicler; most of the students, he says, 'are of such houses and families at home as they might have lived with great commodotie of temporal estate in Ingland and divers others come that be their fathers heirs, or onelie children, and those of the principall gentrie within our land, others brought up and in the waie of good præferment in...Oxford and Cambridge.' They are burning with zeal to return to England and gain the crown of martyrdom, but they are not neglecting their studies: and at the King's visit on August 3, they were able to address him in ten languages, Hebrew, Greek, Latin, English, Welsh, Scottish (*i.e.* lowland Scots), French, Italian, Spanish, and Flemish. This pamphlet was translated into Spanish. 'Relacion de un Sacerdote Ingles...Traduzida de Ingles en Castellano par Thomas Eclesal cauallero Ingles. En Madrid. Por Pedro Madrigal 1592.' In the *Bibliothèque de la compagnie de Jésus* which contains this entry, the following note is appended to it: 'A la fin il y a des compositions en vers et en prose en hébreu, grec, latin, anglais, gallois, écossais, français, italien, castillan et flamand:

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[1] *Records etc.*, I, p. 378.
[2] *Ib.*, p. 385.

mais le traducteur dit qu'il ne donne pas celles qui ont été composées en hébreu et en grec, parce que l'imprimeur ne possède pas de caractères de ces langues.' (In the English book, these compositions are not given in the original tongues,—merely brief extracts in French, Spanish and Italian.)

Was it from this scholarly and interesting community of English exiles[1] that the tragedy (or perhaps tragi-comedy) *Psyche et filii ejus* emanated? We know that the acting of Latin plays of a serious kind was prescribed by the Jesuits as a part of their educational system. Their *Ratio Studiorum* directs that 'the subject of the tragedies and comedies (which should be in Latin and only given at rare intervals) should be sacred and pious, that there should be no interlude between the acts which is not in Latin and of a seemly kind: that no female character or actor should be introduced.' M. Gofflot has some interesting chapters on plays given in Jesuit schools in France up to 1764[2]. As to its date I see no reason why it may not have been written before the end of Elizabeth's reign, though the English College at Valladolid continued to exist as a Jesuit institution till the suppression of the Order in 1773[3]. It is now, as I am informed by Father Edmond Nolan, S. J., a 'Royal' College, of which the Rector is appointed by the King of Spain from a list presented to him by the English bishops.

Lingua.

The anonymous English comedy *Lingua* was first printed in 1607. There has been, however, a good deal of dispute as to the date of its composition.

On the one hand internal evidence supports Harington's statement[4] that it was written by Thomas Tomkis of Trinity College, Cambridge, who graduated in $160\frac{0}{1}$ and who was the author of *Albumazar* (1615) and I think of *Pathomachia* (about 1616). But in spite of Mr Fleay's denial, *Lingua* appears to have been written before the close of the reign of Elizabeth[5] and to contain an allusion to events which can hardly have been in Tomkis's recollection. I refer especially to a passage in Act III, Sc. 5 (I quote from the edition of 1657):

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[1] Its history from 1589 to 1615 is recorded by Father Blackfan in *Annales Collegii S. Albani in Oppido Valesoleti*, printed in 1899 and very kindly sent me by Father Herbert Thurston, S. J. The annals throw no light however on the authorship of the play.

[2] *Le Théâtre au collège*. Paris, 1907.

[3] E. L. Taunton, *The Jesuits in England*, p. 473. Much information about the early history of the College is to be found in this work.

[4] Brit. Mus. Add. MSS. 27632, printed by Dr Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*, 7th Series, IX, 382.

[5] This was pointed out by Dr A. W. Ward, *History of Eng. Dram. Lit.* II, p. 152.

> *Com. Sensus.* But what profitable service do you undertake for our dread Queen *Psyche*?
>
> *Lingua.* O how I am ravisht to think how infinitely she hath graced me with her most acceptable service. But above all (which you Master *Register* may well remember) when her Highnesse taking my mouth for her instrument, with the Bow of my tongue strucke so heavenly a touch upon my teeth, that she charmed the very Tigers asleep, the listning Bears and Lions to couch at her feet, while the Hills leaped, and the Woods danced to the sweet harmony of her most Angelical accents.
>
> *Memory.* I remember it very well. *Orpheus* played upon the Harp, while she sang, about some four years after the contention betwixt *Apollo* and *Pan*, and a little before the excoriation of *Marsyas.*
>
> *Anamnestes.* By the same token the River *Alpheus,* at that time pursuing his beloved *Arethusa*, dischanel'd himself of his former course to be partaker of their admirable consort, and the musick being ended, thrust himself headlong into earth, the next way to follow his amorous Chase; if you go to *Arcadia*, you shall see his coming up again.

In interpreting this passage, it is the last speech which gives the clue. Here we have it clearly implied that on the occasion referred to when the Queen's words had so charmed her hearers, Sir Philip Sidney was present, though in order to be there he had had to desist from his pursuit of Stella, and that when the royal ceremony was over, he had retired from the world to follow Love's quest, and that the result was to be seen in his *Arcadia*. Sidney seems to have written most of the *Arcadia* in 1581 at Wilton during the months in which he was banished from Court. This is probably how we are to interpret the allegorical statement that 'Alpheus...thrust himself headlong into earth.' Assuming (as we are justified in doing if Tomkis was its author) that *Lingua* was a play acted at the University of Cambridge, what was the occasion which the dramatist speaks of, when the Queen made a speech? It must have been, we remember, not long before 1580. I conclude that it was when the University officially visited the Queen's Court at Audley End on Sunday July 27, 1578, and 'when the Oracion [of the Public Orator] was ended, she rendryed and gave most hartie thanks, promiseing to be mindful of the Universitie and so...departed out of the chambre[1].'

If this is so, there are other allusions in Memory's speech which are more difficult to explain. Who is meant by Orpheus? Is it Spenser? We do not even know that he was present at Audley End, though as Sidney and Harvey were there, it is possible. What by 'the contention betwixt Apollo and Pan' which had taken place four years before? What by the 'excoriation of Marsyas' which occurred a little later? I can only suggest that the contention between Apollo and Pan refers to the Whitgift-Cartwright controversy of 1572, 1573, or to the Massacre of St Bartholomew, 1572[1], and the 'excoriation of Marsyas' to the Marprelate controversy of 1589. If so, the author's dating is very loose. But Tomkis was a child at the time of the Audley End visit, and unless he was born in Cambridge or the neighbourhood, could hardly have been present at any part of the ceremonies, especially at the Queen's reception of the University.

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[1] Cooper's *Annals*, p. 364.

If *Lingua* was written in 1602, it would be natural to find in it some points of contact with *Club Law*, written, as I have elsewhere argued, about 1600, and the contemporary *Parnassus Plays*. Perhaps such are to be found. In II, 1 we have a reference to 'Gulono the gutty Serjeant, or Delphino the Vintner.' The latter words seem to point to the host of the Dolphin Inn at Cambridge, the former perhaps indicate the sergeant of the Mayor of Cambridge who appears in *Club Law* as Puff (called, l. 157, 'the fatt Sargeant'). We may also perhaps see references to the satire of particular persons, so conspicuous in *Club Law* and to a less extent in the *Parnassus Plays*, when the author of *Lingua* exclaims (II, 4) 'O times! O manners! when Boyes dare to traduce Men in authority,' and again (IV, 2) '*Comœdus*...is become now a daies something humerous and too too Satyrical, up and down like his great grand-father *Aristophanes*.' There is an echo of the theme of the *Parnassus Plays* in V, 16 where it is said of 'the nurslings of the Sisters nine' 'their industry was never yet rewarded, Better to sleep then wake and toyl for nothing.' The words at the end of V, 19 ''tis best to repair to our Lodgings' again recall the frequent use of 'our lodgings' (= 'college') in *Club Law*, while the names Prodigo, Inamorato, and more especially Gullio recall the *Parnassus Plays*.

In the passage (IV, 6) 'I set a douzen maids to atire a boy like a nice Gentlewoman, but there is such...stir with...Partlets, Frislets, Bandlets, Fillets, Croslets, Pendulets, Amulets, Annulets, Bracelets, and so many lets, that yet she is scarce drest to the girdle' we cannot help seeing a reminiscence of Heywood's *Four P.P.*:

Pardoner. I pray you tell me what causeth this:
That women, after their arising,
Be so long in their apparelling?
Pedlar. Forsooth, women have many lets...
As frontlets, fillets, partlets, and bracelets.

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[1] The contention between Apollo and Pan in Lyly's *Midas* which perhaps suggested this passage seems to figure the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

There are more dubious imitations of Shakespeare. Compare *Julius Caesar*, II, 4, 1, etc. with *Lingua*, I, 2:

> *Lingua.* Run, you vile Ape.
> *Men.* Whither?
> *Ling.* What? dost thou stand?
> *Men.* Till I know what to do,

and *Midsummer Night's Dream*, V, 1, 305, etc. with *Lingua*, V, 16 'Am I not dead? is not my soul departed?' In *Lingua*, V, 4:

> Pots and Candlesticks,
> Join'd stools and Trenchers flie about the room,
> Like to the bloudy banquet of the Centaures,

there is perhaps an allusion to some play on the 'battle of the Centaurs,' one of the subjects proposed for representation before Theseus (*M. N. D.*, V, 1, 44).

PATHOMACHIA.

Pathomachia or The Battell of Affections [afterwards *Pathomachia or Loues Loade-stone*, running title *Loues Load-stone*] *shadowed by a faigned siedge of the citie Pathopolis. Written some yeeres ſince, and now first published by a Friend of the deceaſſed Author.* London. Printed by Thos. & Rich. Coats for Francis Constable,...1630. Dedicated by F. Constable to Henry...Earle of Dover.

I think that this play is by the author of *Lingua*, *i.e.* presumably Thomas Tomkis, the author of *Albumazar*[1]. It is a University play (cp. p. 5, 'as if one should aske how many Colledges or Halles there be in the Vniuersitie'), and apparently to be dated soon after the performances of *Albumazar* and *Ignoramus* in March, 1615. It has references to the Gunpowder Plot (1605), to Coryat (Coryat's *Crudities* published 1611), to the assassination of Henry IV (1610), to the doctrine of equivocation (made notorious at Garnett's trial in 1606 and enunciated by Parsons in 1607), to the siege of Ostende (1601–4), and to *Ignoramus* (p. 27, 'If I get within your Cony-burrowes, I shall disgrace you like Ignoramus'). The resemblance of the play to *Lingua* is striking and is pointed out by the author: (p. 2, *Pride.* 'it were fit now to renewe the claime to our old title of Affections which we haue lost, as sometimes Madame Lingua did to the Title of a Sence'; p. 31, 'By that sophistry Madame Lingua might sue as well for the office of an Affection as of a Sence'). These allusions suggest that *Lingua* had been recently played. We may remember that a third edition appeared in 1617.

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[1] Since I wrote this, I have seen in the preface to the play in Hazlitt-Dodsley, IX, p. 333, that Winstanley assigned this piece to the author of *Lingua*.

There is a MS. of the play in the Bodleian (Eng. Misc. e. 5) headed ‘Παθομαχια or loues loadestone.’ It is imperfect at the end, having lost about 16 or 17 of the printed lines. It differs from the printed text in some small points, but especially in containing an ‘alphabetical beadrole of Prides names,’ most of which was cut out by the editor of the printed book. While the latter gives ‘Antoniastro Adrino Alexandrino Bellarmino Baronio Bombo,’ the MS. adds to the last words ‘Brecnock.’ This is probably a local Cambridge allusion, as Brecknock is a chief character in *Club Law* (acted about 1600), whom in my edition of that play I have identified rightly or wrongly with one Robert Wallis. One would expect in a play written just after *Ignoramus* that Brecknock would here represent ‘Brakyn’ the Cambridge Recorder. After this the MS. proceeds to run through the alphabet from Sir Belialo Bezeco Belzebub to S^r^. Zealamimo Zanzummim Zaine. Some of the titles are worth notice. Thus ‘Koriato Knauemgrane’ (‘knave in grain’) is another hit at Coryat, and ‘Owennist’ is probably a reference to John Owen, a Roman Catholic of Godstow, who achieved some notoriety in 1615 by being charged with using the treasonable expression that it was lawful to kill the king since he was excommunicate; and having sentence of death passed on him therefor[1].

If it is agreed that *Pathomachia* and *Lingua* are the work of the same author, we may see in the scornful references to Coryat in *Pathomachia* a fresh reason for attributing *Lingua* to Thomas Tomkis, the author of *Albumazar*. In *Albumazar* Coryat was also ridiculed:

> *Ron.* Look you there, what now?
> *Pan.* Who? I see Dover Pier, a man now landing
> Attended by two porters, that seem to groan
> Under the burden of two loads of paper.
> *Ron.* That's Coriatus Persicus and 's observations
> Of Asia and Afric. (Act I, sc. 3.)[2]

I suggest that *Lingua* was revived in 1616 or 1617 and *Pathomachia* acted at the same time or a year later. In this case the tradition that Oliver Cromwell played in *Lingua* may be trustworthy. He went up to Cambridge in 1616.

We learn also from the title-page of *Pathomachia* (if we may depend on it) that Tomkis had died by the year 1630.

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[1] See *D.N.B.* under ‘Owen, George.’

[2] The reference here seems not to be the *Crudities* which are confined to a tour in Europe made in 1608, but to Coryat's more extended travels in Egypt and Asia on which he entered in 1612. The return to Dover is a flight of poetical imagination, as Coryat never returned but died at Surat in India in 1617.

ANTIPOE.

This English play is MS. 31041 in the Bodleian. It is headed 'The tragedye of Antipoe with other poeticall verses written by mee Nic^{o} Leatt Jun. in Allicant In June 1622.' Nicolas Leatt (who also writes his name in cipher on the first page) was only the scribe: the author was Francis Verney who dedicates his play to King James I ('Illustrissimo principi magnæ Britanniæ...Yo^{r} graces most affectiona^{te} servant to command Francis Verney'). Another letter 'Ad Lectórem' is also signed Francis Verney. I imagine that the author of the play is to be identified with a remarkable character Sir Francis Verney whose life is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. This Verney matriculated in 1600 at the age of 15 from Trinity College, Oxford, but never graduated. He had been wronged by his stepmother as a boy and trapped into a marriage, and failing to obtain redress sold his property in 1607 and became a buccaneer in the Mediterranean. He died in 1615. It is curious that the play should have been transcribed in 1622 at Alicant. Had Leatt somehow in the Mediterranean become possessed of Verney's papers?

If this Francis Verney wrote *Antipoe*, its date is probably about 1604. It was perhaps an attempt to interest the King in his wrongs. The play is written in English couplet-verse, with the exception of some songs, each of which has the same rime running through each stanza. It is an extremely crude and boyish production. About a dozen people kill themselves one after the other at the end of the tragedy. Whether it was acted one cannot say, but the Prologue assumes an audience ('You brave assembly that doe here attend'). The dedication to the King, especially the form in which the author describes himself ('Yo^{r} graces most affectiona^{te} servant to command'), would hardly have been ventured on by a young student who was not of good family and are thus evidence for the author being the Sir Francis Verney whose life is given in the *D.N.B.*

ZELOTYPUS.

From the cast given in the Emmanuel College MS., 3. 1. 17, this play appears to have been acted at St John's College, Cambridge, in 160$\frac{5}{6}$.

EXCHANGE WARE.

Exchange Ware at the second hand, viz. Band, Ruffe and Cuffe, lately out and now newly dearned vp. Or A dialogue, acted in a shew in the famous Vniversitie of Cambridge. The second edition London

(*W. Stansby*) *1615*. (Reprinted by Halliwell in *Contributions to Early English Literature*, 1849, 4^{o}.) This is a piece of the same character and apparently by the same hand as *Worke for Cutlers, Or a merry Dialogue betweene Sword, Rapier and Dagger. Acted in a shew in the famous Vniversitie of Cambridge* (T. Creede) *1615* (reprinted by Mr Sieveking, 1904). Mr Sieveking attributes *Worke for Cutlers* to Thomas Heywood, but does not take *Exchange Ware* into consideration.

A MS. of *Exchange Ware* forms the first piece in Add. MSS. (British Museum) 23723 ('Dramatic Pieces on the visits of James I to Cambridge'). Mr R. B. M^{c}Kerrow has kindly looked at it at my request, and tells me that it omits the Introductory Part of the Interlude and begins 'Enter Band and Cuffe. *B.* Cuffe where art thou?' The MS. however begins at p. 353, being apparently the last few leaves of a Commonplace Book, and as this piece comes first, it is possible that the Introduction has been lost. Mr M^{c}Kerrow says that the MS. differs but slightly from the printed text, the chief difference being in speech 32, where the words 'But doe you heare, we will fight single, you shall not be double Band' are crossed through, and the following (not in the printed text) written below: '*B.* Well Ile meete you, but we will fight single, you shall not come double ruffe' (as though the writer had tried to improve the play while copying it out).

I imagine that both *Exchange Ware* and *Worke for Cutlers*, being alike so short, were played as Interludes in the course of some of the longer plays performed before King James on his earlier visit to Cambridge in 1615[1].

FRAUS HONESTA.

By Edmund Stub. From the cast of the play given in the Emmanuel College MS., 3. 1. 17, it would seem to have been acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, in 161$\frac{8}{9}$. The MS. has the note 'Scæna est Florentiæ decimo die Februarii, 1616,' but apparently this in a different hand from the cast. The MS. adds 'Authore M^{o} Stubbe Collegij Trinitatis socio.' Stub did not become Master of Arts till 1618.

FUCUS SIVE HISTRIOMASTIX.

There are two manuscripts of this Comedy, one at the Bodleian (Rawl. poet. 21), the other in the Lambeth Palace Library (No. 838). The play was classed among Oxford plays by Mr Fleay[2], apparently because the Bodleian possessed the only manuscript known to him. The list of performers affixed to the dramatis personæ in the Lambeth MS. proves, however, that the play was acted by men of Queens' College, Cambridge, about March 1623. The part of 'Hirsutus' was taken by Peter Hausted, afterwards Fellow of Queens' and the author of *The Rival Friends*, *Senile Odium* and possibly *Senilis Amor*. The chief part—that of 'Fucus,' a hypocritical Puritan minister—was taken by 'Mr Ward': who, as we learn from another source, was the author. William Beale, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge (afterwards Master successively of Jesus and St John's Colleges), writes from Cambridge on Jan. 24, 162$\frac{2}{3}$, to William Boswell, Secretary to the Lord Keeper, Westminster: 'comœdia habenda est novissime a nostratibus Jesuanis; et iam scenæ omnes in actu sunt quotidiano. Gemina comœdia in fieri est, non quidem et in agi, apud Trinitarios: autoribus Hacket, et Stubs: lepidis Jupiter et comicissimis. Altera pol excudenda excludenda [*sic*] a Wardo quodam Reginali Artium magistro et quidem lepidarum[1].' Hacket's play was *Loiola*. If Stubs' play was different and he was not merely a part-author with Hacket (the phrase 'gemina comœdia' being rather ambiguous) it was probably not his well-known *Fraus honesta* (which was acted earlier) but another. For the Jesus play, see the next note.

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[1] The *Ratio Studiorum* of the Jesuits mentions, with tragedies and comedies, interludes between the acts: and in an account of the performance of a play, *The Conversion of St Ignatius*, at the Jesuit College of Pont-à-Mousson in 1623 we are told definitely 'il y eut des intermèdes entre chaque acte' (Gofflot, *Le Théâtre au Collège*, p. 138).

[2] *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 360.

Both MSS. of *Fucus* contain two Prologues and two Epilogues, the latter Prologue and Epilogue being written for a performance before the King[2]. The Bodleian MS. is far more carefully written, but the Lambeth MS. appears to give the text as revised for the performance before royalty. Besides having a number of small alterations, it speaks in the last scene of Act I of

scenica spectacula...
Quæ ipsa Academiæ approbarunt lumina
Suaque non semel præsentia honestarit princeps augustissimus.

Here the Bodleian version has merely:

Quæ lumina Academiæ approbarunt sæpius
Et præsentia honestarunt sua.

The date at which *Fucus* was performed before the King (whether James or Charles) is a little obscure. We know that King James visited Cambridge on March 12, 162$\frac{2}{3}$, and then saw *Loiola* at Trinity. But he does not appear to have seen any other play at that time.

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[1] *State Papers, Domestic*, Addenda 1580—1625 (vol. XLIII, 1). The abstract of the paper printed in the Calendar is very inaccurate.

[2] The second Epilogue in the Bodleian MS. is headed 'Epilogus posterior coram Rege.'

However he came over from Newmarket, and if *Fucus* had had a successful performance at Cambridge just at that time, it is quite likely that the actors were invited to give a second performance at Newmarket. The Lambeth MS. while giving the two Prologues and Epilogues only gives one list of players and does not specify at which performance they acted. One would therefore conclude that the same actors took part in both performances, and presumably the performances came very near together.

A little additional difficulty is caused by the fact that the Bodleian MS. after the word 'Finis' has the date '1616' or '1610[1].' It is written however in another hand to that of the rest of the MS. and is possibly an error. Dr Beale's letter shows that Mr Ward of Queens' was engaged on his play in January 162$\frac{2}{3}$ and makes it clear that Dr Beale at any rate thought he was doing something more than patching up a comedy which had been acted some years before. The text of the Bodleian play is, as we have seen, that of the play as presented before the King. It is not likely that to this play there should be appended a contemporary date referring to an earlier performance.

ADRASTUS PARENTANS.

This play is thus described by Fleay, under the name 'Peter Mease': '*Adrasta parentans siue Vindicta*, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 10,417. Dedicated to Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. Plot from Herodotus. The date must lie between 1618 and 1627.' Mr M^{c}Kerrow tells me, however, that the MS. has 'Adrastus' not 'Adrasta.' The records of the Cambridge University Registry show that Peter Mease matriculated as a sizar of Jesus College on April 16, 1614, became B.A. 161$\frac{7}{8}$, M.A. 1621, S.T.P. 1628 and Prebendary of Southwell 1631. We may assume therefore that *Adrastus parentans* was a Jesus College play, the only one surviving in connexion with that College. The statement of Dr Beale quoted in the previous note that a 'comedy' was being rehearsed at Jesus in January 162$\frac{2}{3}$ is confirmed by an entry in the College accounts for 1623, kindly communicated to me by Mr Arthur Gray: 'for mending Mr Jenks window broken at ye comodie 4*d*.' *Adrastus*, being a tragedy, can hardly however be identified with this play, and the only other reference to plays in the College accounts of these years ('1618. To Bond for the common plaie') seems also inapplicable.

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[1] It has generally been read '1616.' Mr F. Madan, however, who has kindly examined it for me, thinks the date is 1610.

VERSIPELLIS.

This play, of which the cast is given in Baker's *Biographia Dramatica* from a MS. which had belonged to Thomas Pestell, one of the actors, appears to have been acted at Queens' College, Cambridge, in $163\frac{1}{2}$. This agrees with the date on the MS. '1631.' Another of the actors is William Johnson, author of *Valetudinarium*, acted at Queens' College, February 6, $163\frac{7}{8}$.

CONFESSOR.

This Latin play is MS. 14,571 (MS. Rawl. poet. 77) in the Bodleian. It is dedicated by the author Thomas Sparrowe to a Bishop unnamed, who had probably sent him to College ('Episcope Reverende! Patrone!' 'Alumnus vester humilis'). The Matriculation lists of the University of Oxford do not include any 'Thomas Sparrow,' but at Cambridge (as I am kindly informed by the Registrary) Thomas Sparrow matriculated as a pensioner of St John's College on March 22, $16\frac{29}{30}$, and took the degree of Bachelor of Arts as 'Thomas Sparrowe' in 1632 (that is, $163\frac{2}{3}$). The comedy is therefore probably to be dated about 1634. Unfortunately the Admission Lists of St John's College begin just too late (Jan. 1, $16\frac{29}{30}$) to include Sparrow's name.

The play contains what appears to be a reference to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*:

Ab Oberone Lemurum
  Cimeriorum Regulo
Veni spectator lusuum
  Illius jussu Robbio.
Nunc Canis nunc Accipiter
  Et homo nunc obambulo,
Nunc equi forma induor
  Et levis circumcursito,

and also an apparent allusion to Lyly's *Sappho and Phao*:

Phaonem regina Sappho deperibat.

FRAUS PIA.

Sloane MS. 1855, art. 3. The reference to Smectymnuus in the Prologue fixes the date as 1640 or after. Whether the play was produced at Oxford or Cambridge is not clear. There is an indirect reference to Cambridge in Act v, Sc. 3:

Eugenius. Num academicus audit?
Sconce. ita domine: mirum in modum
  literis instructus, quem, licet nunquam
  Academiam appulit, sutor quidam
  Novanglicus egregie cantibrigiavit.

But this little hit at the Cambridge in New England may well have come from an Oxford pen. In the next scene there are some topical allusions:

> strenuo impugnando sacratæ Monarchiæ
> usque ad raucedinem sed gratias Amnestiae...
> communium precum codicem sancte lacerasse,
> fenestras variegatas me cœlo violasse.

The statement about 'attacking monarchy, thanks to the amnesty' seems to point to a post-restoration date. At any rate I am not aware of any date before the Commonwealth when it would be applicable. The 'amnesty' in this case would mean the Declaration of Breda or the Act of Indemnity of 1660.

The Bursar's book of Trinity College, Cambridge, has no reference to the performance of a College play between 1642 'Dr Cooley's Comedy' and 166½ when we find the entry 'To Mr Hill senio^{r} for ye expences of ye stage and other charges for ye Latine Comedie £20. 0. 0.' Whether this Latin comedy was *Fraus pia* is of course doubtful. But I imagine that *Fraus pia* was performed about this time in one University or the other.

G. C. Moore Smith.

DANTE AND THE 'GOSPEL OF BARNABAS.'

THE Clarendon Press has recently published an *Editio princeps* of the Mohammedan *Gospel of Barnabas* from an unique MS. of the latter half of the sixteenth century in the Imperial Library at Vienna[1]. This document—apart from its theological and dogmatic importance—should prove to be of considerable interest to students of Italian literature, as well on account of its grammatical and orthographic peculiarities, as for the positive literary merits which not infrequently relieve a style in general somewhat rough and bald.

The task of preparing for the press a translation of this remarkable document could not fail to bring before one's mind certain points of contact with Dante, more especially as the curious archaic Italian in which the 'Gospel' is written lends itself, in a certain measure, to verbal coincidences and quasi-coincidences with passages in the poet's writings. The points of contact which will be adduced in the present paper are none the less interesting because the date of the original *Gospel of Barnabas* still remains, to a certain extent, an open question, and with it also the nature of the relations, direct or indirect, that may have subsisted between its compiler and the author of the *Divina Commedia.*

But first a word is due about the character and scope of this very apocryphal Gospel. The MS., as we have already suggested, is of comparatively recent date. Paper, binding, and orthography all combine with the script to place it—not, as its eighteenth century critics supposed, in the fifteenth century, or earlier, but—in the latter half of the sixteenth century[2]. It is, however, of course possible that the Vienna Codex may be a copy of an earlier MS.; and, curiously enough, one of the strongest arguments for this earlier original arises, as we shall shortly see, out of an apparent reference to the famous Jubilee of 1300 A.D. which looms so large in Dante's life and writings.

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[1] *The Gospel of Barnabas.* Edited and translated from the Italian MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna by Lonsdale and Laura Ragg. Oxford, 1907.

[2] See Introduction to Oxford Ed., pp. xiii sq. and xliii.

The book is a frankly Mohammedan Gospel, giving a full, but garbled, story of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ, from a Moslem point of view. It claims to have been written by Saint Barnabas (who figures in it as one of the Twelve—to the exclusion of poor Saint Thomas !) at the injunction of his Master, for the express purpose of combating the errors taught by Saint Paul and others. These errors are summed up under three heads: (1) the doctrine that Jesus is Son of God, (2) the rejection of Circumcision, and (3) the permission to eat unclean meats. Of these three errors the first is regarded as of the greatest importance; and not only is the Gospel narrative contorted and expurgated to suit the writer's purpose, but Christ Himself is made repeatedly to deny his own Divinity and even his Messiahship, and to predict the advent of Mohammed, the 'Messenger of God.'

About two-thirds of the material is derived, without question, from our four Canonical Gospels, of which a decidedly unscientific 'harmony' forms the framework of Barnabas' narrative; the remaining third, which takes the form of discourses put into the mouth of Christ, is purely oriental in character, and largely an elaboration of germs or hints to be found in the Koran or in Jewish tradition. It is on this section of the book that the Dantist's interest will be concentrated.

The brief words of awful solemnity in which the Gospels speak of the doom of the lost are supplemented in Barnabas by elaborate descriptions of infernal torments which, whencesoever ultimately derived, are expressed in terms which exhibit remarkable coincidences with the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* of Dante. Mohammed's two favourite themes were, the final Judgment and the horrors of Hell on the one hand, and, on the other, the delights of Paradise. And the second theme is treated in Barnabas almost as fully as the first. The Paradise of Barnabas has perhaps little in common with the Earthly Paradise of Dante, and still less with the Celestial; but it gives our author scope for an excursion into the realms of astronomy, whereby he finds himself (perhaps unconsciously), at the end of his journey, much nearer to Dante's scheme of the Ten Heavens than to the normal tradition of the Jews and Arabs.

It will be convenient to deal first with this teaching on Paradise, secondly with the *Inferno* of Barnabas, and thirdly with certain verbal and other points of contact between Barnabas and Dante; concluding with some more general considerations regarding the tone and colouring of the 'Gospel.'

It would be strange if the Paradise of Barnabas had not some features in common with Dante's. Man's dreams of an ideal resting-place whether past or future have a tendency to express themselves in terms of greensward and flowers and luscious fruits, cool streams and sunshine tempered by refreshing shade. The name 'Paradise' itself means 'park' or 'plaisance' as we know, and though Barnabas is not conspicuously happy when he poses as an etymologist[1], the connotation of the word was too securely established alike in Moslem and in Christian tradition to admit of much variation. Paradise, of course, has two different meanings in Dante, and the same is true of its use in Barnabas; but inasmuch as the distinction in the latter is not expressly marked, it will be convenient for our purpose to group together the conceptions of the Earthly and the Celestial Paradise. In Barnabas, as in Dante, the name is applied to the scene of man's creation,

> il loco
> Fatto per proprio dell' umana spece[2],

and of his temptation, fall and expulsion[3]. In both again it is used also of the eternal home of God, the good angels and redeemed mankind[4]. Speaking generally, the main features of the Paradise of Barnabas resemble more closely those of Dante's Earthly Paradise; while its position in the scheme of the universe corresponds rather to that of the Celestial Paradise of Dante. Thus the four perfumed rivers[5] of this 'Gospel,' though derived, almost certainly, from the Koran, correspond, in a sense, to the miraculously clear and limpid stream which arrested the poet's progress[6]; while its profusion of flowers and fruits[7] recall the scene pourtrayed in Virgil's parting words:

> ...l' erbetta, i fiori e gli arbuscelli[8],

and

> La gran varïazion dei freschi mai[9],

which drew Dante's wondering eyes across the stream to where Matelda tripped singing through the painted meadow:

> Cantando ed iscegliendo fior da fiore
> Ond' era pinta tutta la sua via[10].

Again, a somewhat terse definition of Paradise in Barnabas reminds one of a still shorter phrase of Dante's. The author of the *De*

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[1] As for instance in his definition of the word 'Pharisee,' '*farisseo propio uolle dire cercha DIO nella linygua di chanaam*' (*Barnabas*, 157^b).

[2] *Par.* i, 56–7, cf. *Barn.* 40^a, sq.

[3] *Purg.* xxviii, 94 &c., cf. *Barn.* 41^b—43^b.

[4] *Barn.* 189^a, cf. (for angels) Canz. iv, 24, 25, *Par.* xx, 102.

[5] *Barn.* 189^a, *Koran*, Surah xlvii. The *original* source is perhaps *Gen.* ii, 10 sqq.

[6] *Purg.* xxviii, 25 sqq.

[7] *Barn.* 187^a, 189^a.

[8] *Purg.* xxvii, 134.

[9] *Purg.* xxviii, 36.

[10] *Purg.* xxviii, 41, 42.

Vulgari Eloquentia describes the home which man forfeited by his first sin as 'delitiarum patria[1]'; while for Barnabas, 'Il parradisso he chassa doue DIO chonsserva le sui delitie[2]'; or, as he puts it further on, 'DIO ha chreato il parradisso per chassa delle sui delitie[3].'

But the heavenly Paradise of the Empyrean is also described by Dante in material phrase as 'God's garden.' 'Questo giardino[4]' is the name by which Saint Bernard designates the Mystic Rose, as he unveils its mysteries to Dante; and already in the Eighth Heaven Beatrice had essayed to divert the Poet's gaze from her own loveliness

...al bel giardino
Che sotto i raggi di Cristo s' infiora[5].

Here we may note that in Barnabas[6] GOD (not Christ, of course) is the sun of Paradise, while Mohammed is its moon.

But there is another passage in the *Paradiso*, where Dante himself is speaking in answer to Saint John's catechizing: a passage which may well detain us a little longer. Here Paradise is described in so many words, as the 'Garden of the Eternal Gardener':

Le fronde onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
Dell' ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto,
Quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto[7].

Is it fanciful to see a subtle resemblance—in thought, perhaps, more than in phrase (though Dante's symbolic meaning is wanting)—in Barnabas' description of Paradise as a place 'doue...ogni chossa he *frutuossa, di fruti proportionati ha cholui che lo ha choltiuato*[8]'?

There emerge, at any rate, from both passages, the thought of the Divine Gardener...and of a *proportion* for which He is in some way responsible. But perhaps a more striking coincidence—if coincidence it be—is that between the answer given to a problem raised by Saint Bartholomew in Barnabas and the assurance vouchsafed by Piccarda[9] in resolution of Dante's difficulty concerning degrees of glory in Heaven.

'O Master,' says Bartholomew[10], 'shall the glory of Paradise be equal for every man? If it be equal, it will not be just, and if it be unequal, the lesser will envy the greater.' Jesus answers: 'Non sera equalle perche DIO he iusto he ogniuno si chontentera perche hiuui non he inuidia'; and again, There shall be 'tutta una gloria sebene sara ha chi piu ha chi meno. Non portera alloro inuidia ueruna.' So, when Dante questions the beatified Piccarda, in her earth-shadowed sphere:

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[1] *V. E.* I, 7, 10—11.
[2] 185ª.
[3] 185ᵇ.
[4] *Par.* XXXI, 97; XXXII, 39.
[5] *Par.* XXIII, 71, 72.
[6] 190ª.
[7] *Par.* XXVI, 64—66.
[8] 185ᵇ.
[9] *Par.* III, 70 sqq.
[10] *Barn.* 189ᵇ.

> Desiderate voi più alto loco...?[1]

the spirit replies, in words which, though more beautiful and more profound, are inevitably called up by the passage of Barnabas just quoted:

> Sì che, come noi sem di soglia in soglia
> Per questo regno, a tutto il regno piace
> Come allo re ch' a suo voler ne invoglia:
> E la sua volontate è nostra pace[2].

Turning now to the geographical or rather astronomical aspect of the subject, we find in Barnabas a definite divergence from the doctrine of the Koran and adoption of a Ptolemaic scheme closely resembling that of Dante's Paradiso. There are nine heavens, not counting Paradise, *i.e.* ten heavens in all. 'Noue sono li cielli li quali sono distanti luno dal altro chome he distante il primo cielo dala terra. Il quale he lontano dalla terra cinquecento hanni di strada[3].' In the 'five hundred years' journey' there is a reminiscence of Jewish tradition: but the seven heavens of the Talmud and of the Koran have become ten. And though these heavens are not definitely stated to be arranged, like Dante's, as a series of concentric spheres with earth as the centre, they form a graduated series, in which each is to the next as a 'punto di ago[4],' or as a grain of sand[5]. The planets, again, have their place in the scheme. They are not, apparently, identified with the several 'cieli,' as in Dante's arrangement, but are 'set between' or 'amongst' them: 'li cielli fra li qualli stano li pianeti[6].'

The point of resemblance is to be found in a graduated series of ten (and not seven) heavens, characterised by an ascending scale of magnitude, and culminating in the Paradise of the Blessed.

So far, it may be said, the suggested points of contact between Barnabas and Dante have been somewhat vague and hypothetical. They may, perhaps, be adequately accounted for on the basis of a common tradition—the practically universal tradition of a Garden-Paradise, and the Aristotelo-Ptolemaic scheme of astronomy common to all the civilised West, whether Christian or Mohammedan, till the days of Copernicus and Galileo. But in the Inferno of Barnabas we may discover more definite and more convincing resemblances to features and passages of the *Divina Commedia.*

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[1] *Par.* III, 65.

[2] *Par.* III, 82—85. A reviewer of the Oxford Edition (*Guardian*, Aug. 21, 1907) points out a further significant resemblance between *Par.* XXXI, 7 sqq. and *Barn.* 56^b, where it is said of the angels that, 'chome appe uenirano intorno per circuito dello nontio di DIO.'

[3] *Barn.* 111^a, cf. 190^b.

[4] 111^a.

[5] III^b, 190^b.

[6] 190^b.

Islam, except in its later developments[1], has no place for a Purgatory. There is no mention of a Purgatorio in the Koran or in this 'Gospel,' though Barnabas gives even the Faithful a probationary residence of torment in Hell, varying from Mohammed's own brief term of 'the twinkling of an eye' to a duration of 70,000 years[2]! But the Barnaban arrangement of Hell itself furnishes an almost exact parallel to the scheme of Dante's Purgatorio. The framework of the arrangement is that of the seven capital sins. Hell is divided[3] into seven circles or 'centri' wherein are punished respectively (1) lo irachondo, (2) il gollosso, (3) lo acidiosso, (4) il lusuriosso, (5) lo hauaro, (6) lo inuidiosso, (7) il superbo. The order of the sins differs considerably from that adopted by Dante, and indeed is not repeated in any of the typical arrangements given in Dr Moore's well-known Table[4]; coming nearest to that of Aquinas. In common, however, with Dante's arrangement it has the juxtaposition of Pride and Envy and their position at the lower end of the series: a point which is perhaps the more significant in that Barnabas approaches his Inferno from the bottom (not, as one would have expected, from the top), beginning with 'il piu basso centro' of Pride. There is another point also, in which the Inferno of Barnabas resembles both the Inferno and the Purgatorio of Dante—the principle which runs through all its torments 'per quae peccat quis...per haec et torquetur.' The proud shall be 'trampled under-foot of Satan and his devils[5]'; the envious shall be tormented with the delusion that even in that joyless realm 'ogniuno prendi allegrezza del suo malle he si dolgia che lui non habia peggio[6]'; the slothful shall labour at tasks like that of Sisyphus[7], and the gluttonous be tantalised with elusive dainties[8]. Nor can we fail to notice here how in the story of the serpent's doom[9] there comes out the idea of all pollutions of human sin—especially repented sin—streaming back eventually to Satan: the conception which underlies the system of Dante's rivers of Hell, including the 'ruscelletto' that trickles down from Purgatory[10].

There is a vivid description in Barnabas of the 'Harrowing of Hell' at the coming of God's Messenger, which though it has nothing in common with the account of the Saviour's Descent as related by Virgil in Limbo, is strongly suggestive of a later scene where at the advent of the much-debated 'Messo del ciel[1],' who comes to open the gates of Dis, both banks of the Styx tremble, and more than a thousand 'anime distrutte' fly headlong like frogs before a water-snake[2]. 'Onde tremera,' says Barnabas, 'lo infferno alla sua pressenzza[3]...quando elgi ui andera tutti li diauoli stridendo cercherano di asscondersi sotto le ardente brasse dicendo luno allo altro: scampa scampa che elgi uiene machometo nosstro innimicho[4].'

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[1] *E.g.* in the Motalizite Sect (see *Encycl. Brit.* vol. XVI, p. 592).

[2] 149^b sqq.

[3] 146^b—149^a.

[4] *Studies in Dante*, Series II.

[5] 146^b.

[6] 147^a.

[7] 148^a.

[8] 148^b.

[9] 43^a.

[10] *Inf.* XIV, 85 sqq.; XXXIV, 130.

While the general atmosphere of Hell in Barnabas, with its 'neui he giazi intollerabili[5],' its torturing fiends, its biting serpents, its Sisyphus-labours and Tantalus-pains, its harpies, its burning filth and nameless horrors, has the same 'reek' as that of Dante's Inferno, there are passages which present an almost verbal parallel. In his description of the cries of the lost, Barnabas says: 'malladirano...il loro padre he madre he il loro chreatore.' Who can but recall Dante's words about the dismal spirits assembled on the bank of Acheron, who

> Bestemmiavano Iddio e lor parenti[6]?

This brings us to the subject of actual verbal coincidences, of which we must confess we have found but two, though a more systematic investigation might well yield a much larger number.

Barnabas' recurring characterisation of the idols of the heathen as 'dei falsi he bugiardi[7]' is surely too remarkable to be without significance, and is enforced and supported by the occurrence of another cadence of the same canto of the *Inferno* in the phrase 'rabbiosa fame,' which in Barnabas, however, applies not to the symbolic lion of the *Divina Commedia*[8], but to the torments of the Lost.

There remains one more point to be adduced—an incidental and a somewhat subtle one which makes, not so much for a relation between Dante's writings and the *Gospel of Barnabas* as for a relation of contemporaneity between the two writers. The inference which it would suggest is so definite and precise, that it is only fair to remark that there are puzzlingly contradictory arguments to be drawn from the language and style of Barnabas.

Our point, then, is as follows. Barnabas puts into the mouth of our Lord, as we have observed above, numerous predictions of the future advent of Mohammed as 'Messiah' and 'Messenger of God.' In one of these a 'Jubilee' is spoken of as recurring every hundred years: 'il iubileo...che hora uiene ogni cento hanni[1].' The writer or compiler here, as often, fails to throw himself back into the Palestine of the first century, in which, as his very considerable knowledge of the Old Testament[2] should have reminded him, the Hebrew Jubilee of fifty years would have been in force. Whence, then, comes this Jubilee? He cannot have derived it from the Koran. We are almost forced to the conclusion that the 'hora' of the passage quoted is a literal 'now' and refers to a contemporary institution—to the Jubilee as conceived of at the moment when the lines were penned; and that, the Jubilee of Western Christendom. This carries us back beyond the twenty-five years' Jubilee of modern times—beyond the year when Clement VI, for his own ends, instituted a Jubilee of fifty years after the Hebrew model; and would give us as our *terminus ad quem* the year 1349. For the upper limit—the *terminus a quo* of the original Barnabas we must turn to the famous Jubilee of 1300, the ideal date of Dante's pilgrimage. For though the Bull[3] by which that Jubilee was promulgated alleged antecedent tradition, and the contemporary chroniclers naturally followed suit[4], there seems to be no sufficient historical evidence for a precedent. Thus, between the years 1300 and 1350—and, apparently, only during that period—it would have been possible to speak of the centennial Jubilee as an established institution. If this be so, the writing of this passage in Barnabas is relegated to the years in which the *Divina Commedia* took its final shape, or those just after the poet's death in 1321 when the poem so swiftly took its place among the classics of the world's literature.

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[1] *Inf.* IX, 85.
[2] *Inf.* IX, 66 and 76 sqq.
[3] 149^{b}.
[4] 150^{a}.
[5] *Barn.* 113^{a}, cf. *Inf.* XXXII, 22 sqq.
[6] *Barn.* 63^{a}: Dante, *Inf.* III, 103.
[7] In 23^{a}, 81^{b}, 225^{a}. It is characteristic of the MS. that the three passages furnish as many different spellings of the last word: *bugiari*, *bugiardi* and *buggiardi*! Cf. *Inf.* I, 72.
[8] *Inf.* I, 47; *Barn.* 62^{b}.

The foregoing sketch does not pretend to be exhaustive[5]; it does not even claim to have proved anything of a substantial nature: but it may perhaps suggest to some more competent mind a line of study which has at least the merit of freshness, and it may serve to introduce to those who are not acquainted with it, a document of no ordinary interest and of no little beauty.

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[1] 85^{b} and 87^{a}.

[2] A little earlier (76^{b}) he has what seems to be a quotation from memory of *Lev.* xxvi, 11, 12; the Law of the Jubile is to be found, of course, in the chapter immediately preceding.

[3] *Antiquorum habet* (Coqueline, III, 94).

[4] *E.g.* Cron. Astense (Muratori, *R. S. I.*, tom. XI, p. 192): Jacobus Cardinalis (in Raynald., tom. IV, sub an. 1300): Villani, VIII, 36.

[5] Another point that might have been adduced is the counsel 'habbandonare il perchè,' *Barn.* 95^{b}; cf. *Purg.* III, 37.

It is sometimes stated that Dante places Mohammed not among pagans nor among heretics but with the schismatics: as though he shared the optimistic view of some of his contemporaries, that the Moslems were but an extreme form of Christian 'sect.'

But Dante distributes his pagans without prejudice throughout the successive circles, from the 'Nobile Castello' in Limbo to the central seat of infamy in the Giudecca; and, as a matter of fact, a pagan, Curio, is partner of Mohammed's doom in the penultimate 'bolgia' of Malebolge. Obviously 'scisma' must not be taken too technically from Mohammed's lips, supplemented as it is by the more general phrase 'seminator di scandalo[1].' The 'schism' of which the False Prophet is guilty is rather that introduction of discord and strife into the civilised world, which makes 'Macometto cieco' in the eighteenth canzone a personification of the factious spirit of Florence.

Yet if it had fallen to Dante's lot to judge the Founder of Islam by the spirit of this Mohammedan Gospel, he might have shared that milder and more optimistic view of Mohammedanism which, according to a recent writer[2], inspired Saint Francis when he set out upon his Egyptian mission. For here he would have found, side by side with the inevitable denial of our Lord's Divinity, an attribution to him not only of the Gospel miracles, but of others besides. He would have found deep teachings on prayer and fasting and almsgiving; on humility, penitence[3] and self-discipline; on meditation and mystic love. He would have found an asceticism in some ways as extravagant as any to be discovered in mediaeval legend, yet tempered with saving humour and common sense; a tolerant and charitable spirit which rivals even that of the 'Cristo d' Italia,' and 'a succession of noble and beautiful thoughts concerning love of God, union with God, and God as Himself the final reward of faithful service, which it would be difficult to match in any literature[4].'

LONSDALE RAGG.

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[1] *Inf.* XXVIII, 35.

[2] Prof. N. Tamassia, *S. Francesco d' Assisi e la sua Leggenda*, p. 88.

[3] Including (38^b) a striking statement of the impossibility of penitence (and therefore of absolution) to one meditating fresh sin: cf. Dante, *Inf.* XXVII, 118 sq.

[4] Introduction to Oxford Edition, p. xxxiv.

THE MISSING TITLE OF THOMAS LODGE'S REPLY TO GOSSON'S 'SCHOOL OF ABUSE.'

Stephen Gosson's 'pleasaunt invective against Poets, Pipers, Plaiers, Iesters and such like caterpillars of a commonwelth,' published in the summer of 1579, raised quite a storm of opposition. Only two of the replies have come down to us, one being Sidney's celebrated *Apology for Poetry* and the other the earliest known work by Thomas Lodge, the author of *Rosalynde.* Lodge's counterblast was first reprinted in 1853 for the old Shakespeare Society, under the editorship of David Laing. He gives its title as *A Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays*, but this is nothing more than a convenient description of its contents, as the tract originally appeared without a title-page in order to escape the censor's eye. At that time books were licensed, not as later, by the Archbishop or the Bishop of London, but by the Stationers' Company acting upon the advice of some 'discreet minister.' Perhaps the said minister in 1579 was an opponent of plays[1], or perhaps the City Corporation, always ready to do their enemies the actors a bad turn, brought their influence to bear upon the Stationers' Company. In any case, Lodge was refused a license, and his book could not therefore be published in the ordinary fashion. Apparently only a very few mutilated copies found their way into circulation. In spite of this it is possible, I believe, to reconstruct in part the missing title-page. In his *Apologie for the School of Abuse* published late in 1579, Gosson declares that he has heard that the players had 'got one in London to write certaine *Honest Excuses*, for so they tearme it, to their dishonest abuses which I reuealed.' My object is to prove that *Honest Excuses* was the name which originally stood in the forefront of Lodge's book.

Gosson had not seen *Honest Excuses* at the time of writing, so that what he tells us about it in his *Apologie* is only hearsay, and he promises to answer it properly when it reaches his hands. He did not actually reply to Lodge until 1582, when he devoted a large portion of *Playes*

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[1] This view receives support from Lodge's words, 'the godly and reverent that had to deale in the cause, misliking it, forbad the publishing.' (*Alarum against Usurers*, Dedication.)

Confuted in five Actions to a consideration of his 'patchte pamphlet.' We are therefore in a position to compare his description of *Honest Excuses* in 1579 with that of Lodge's tract more than two years later[1], which he informs us 'came not to my hands in one whole yeere after the priuy printing thereof.' These passages, together with what we know of the condition and publication of Lodge's book, are all the evidence we possess upon the subject.

Let us first see how far Gosson's remarks upon *Honest Excuses* and its author tally with what we know of Lodge and his book. The secret publication, the limited circulation and the suppressed title-page, seem to be indicated in the words 'How he frames his excuses, I know not yet, because it is doone in hudder mudder[2]. Trueth can neuer be Falsehods Visarde, which maketh him maske without a torch and keepe his papers very secret.' Yet, though he has not seen the book, he appears to know the author by name and reputation. This is not unimportant since we have proof that he was a contemporary of Lodge at Oxford, and knew him later in London[3]. The only difficulty is to be found in certain expressions which have been held to prove that *Honest Excuses* was not written by a University man. It is true, indeed, that Gosson tells us how the players had 'trauailed' to some of his 'acquaintance of both Vniuersities' to induce them to take up the pen against him and how 'when neither of both Vniuersities would heare their plea' they were forced to fall back upon a Londoner. Possibly, for spiteful reasons, he wished to suggest that his opponent was not a man of University education. The point he makes, however, is that the players had taken the trouble to journey up to the Universities and had returned home empty handed. Lodge was undoubtedly at that time living in London, having been admitted at Lincoln's Inn in 1578. If Gosson be here referring to him he would not spoil a good point by going out of his way to remark that he had previously been to Oxford. In short, Gosson's words describing *Honest Excuses* encourage, rather than forbid, us to believe that it was written by Lodge.

The passage in *Playes Confuted*, which saw light more than two years later, leaves us no doubt upon the point. 'Amongest all the fauorers of these uncircumsised Philistines' the Puritan play-hater declares, 'I mean the Plaiers, whose hearts are not right, no man til of late durst thrust out his heade to mayntaine their cause, but one, in wit simple: in learning ignoraunt: in attempt rash: in name Lodge.' If Lodge be not the author of *Honest Excuses* of which Gosson had heard in 1579, then it is nonsense to describe him as the first to reply on behalf of the players. The words have but one interpretation: that Lodge wrote *Honest Excuses* and that this pamphlet, long known to Gosson by hearsay, did not reach him till a considerable period after it was issued 'in hudder mudder.' Both Payne Collier and Professor Arber assumed without question the truth of what is here for the first time proved. But Lodge's earliest editor, David Laing, has led subsequent opinion astray by some very loose reasoning in his introduction which has hitherto passed without question. One of his arguments has already been considered. The other is, that since Gosson declares that Lodge's pamphlet did not come into his hands until 'one whole yeere after' its publication, he cannot therefore have been speaking of it in his *Apologie for the School of Abuse.* This argument, which is blindly accepted by Dr Elbert Thompson in his *Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage,* the most recent book upon the anti-dramatic writers, proves nothing except that neither David Laing nor Dr Thompson can have read the *Apologie* which, as has already been noticed, expressly states that Gosson had not seen a copy of *Honest Excuses* at the time he was writing. As a matter of fact we know what the date of Lodge's tract was, for it must have appeared between *The School* and the *Apologie* since it makes no reference to the latter. In other words, it was published about August or September 1579; that is, just when rumours of *Honest Excuses* began to reach Gosson.

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[1] See Arber's *School of Abuse*, pp. 73—75 and Hazlitt's *English Drama and Stage*, p. 169.

[2] *I.e.* hurriedly and in secret; cp. 'in hugger-mugger' *Hamlet*, IV, 5, 67.

[3] Lodge himself tells us this in his 'Reply,' see Saintsbury, *Elizabethan and Jacobean Pamphlets*, pp. 8, 28.

Any future editor of Lodge's reply to Gosson may, I think, without hesitation write the title *Honest Excuses* at the head of his pages.

J. DOVER WILSON.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

A NOTE ON BISHOP HALL'S SATIRES, 'VIRGIDEMIAE,' V, i, 65—72.

THERE is an allusion in the following passage from Bishop Hall's Satires that requires explanation:

> A starued Tenement, such as I gesse,
> Stand stragling in the wasts of *Holdernesse.*
> Or such as shiuer on a Peake-hill side,
> When *Marches* lungs beate on their turfe-clad hide:
> Such as nice *Lipsius* would grudge to see,
> Above his lodging in wild *Westphalye*:
> Or as the Saxon King his Court might make,
> When his sides playned of the Neat-heards cake.
>
> *Virgidemiae*, Bk V, Sat. i, ll. 65—72.

The text is quoted from the 1st edition of Books iv—vi: *The three last Bookes. Of byting Satyres* (1598), pp. 56, 57.

In Warton and Singer's edition (1824), where *stand* of l. 66 appears as *stands*, no comment is offered on 'Such as nice *Lipsius* ... wild *Westphalye.*' Hall is here alluding to the singularly vivid account which Lipsius gives of his unpleasant experience of Westphalian inns in the month of October, 1586. This account is not included in the editions of Lipsius's *Opera Omnia.* It is to be found in the four letters afterwards suppressed which were printed as XIII—XVI of his *Epistolarum Centuria Secunda*[1], the dedication of which is dated April 11, 1590. On learning that his sarcastic remarks had given deep offence in Germany Lipsius withdrew the obnoxious letters, renumbered XVII to C, and added at the end four others (the first, 'Typographus Lectori,' being dated September 1, 1592) preceded by a notice to the reader in which any intention of assailing the Germans as a nation is disclaimed. (See his *Op. Omn.*, ed. 1637, tom. II, p. 108; ed. 1675, vol. II, p. 207.) His criticism of their inns had certainly been unsparing. Ep. XIII written at Oldenburg, is dated 'in Barbaria.' In Ep. XIV after writing 'Crede mihi amice, barbaria nulla barbaria est, prae hac Westphalia,' he concludes with 'Oldenburg, at a pigsty which they call an inn.' In xv on mentioning the inns of the country, he says that he will call them so, but they are really stables or rather pigsties.

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[1] Pp. 203—207 of *Ivsti Lipsi Epistolarvm Centuriae Dvae* (Lugd. Bat. Ex Officina Plantiniana, 1591).

Lipsius's 'niceness' though partly accounted for by the state of his health was chiefly due, no doubt, to the superior cleanliness and comfort that prevailed in the Netherlands. Erasmus in his Colloquies (see *Diversoria*) had emphasized the same contrast in dealing with German inns, and Nisard in his life of Lipsius (*Le Triumvirat littéraire au* xvi^{e} *Siècle*, p. 67) refers to Clenardus's similar complaints of Spanish hostelries. Sir W. Temple's story of what happened to him in the house of M. Hoeft in Amsterdam (*Memoirs from* 1672 *to* 1679, *Works*, ed. 1750, vol. I, p. 472) proves that to an English gentleman in the last quarter of the seventeenth century one of the first principles of domestic decency still presented itself as a piece of humorous eccentricity. Joseph Hall is not the only English writer who gives evidence of having read and marked these suppressed letters. Robert Burton (as I pointed out in *Notes and Queries*, 9th series, vol. XI, p. 264) has referred in his *Anatomy of Melancholy* (Partition I, sect. ii, memb. ii, subs. iii) to a passage in Ep. xv.

EDWARD BENSLY.

AN UNRECORDED READING IN 'PIERS PLOWMAN.'

In line 215 of the Prologue of the C text the Phillipps MS. printed in the E. E. T. S. edition reads:

> For hadde ȝe ratones ȝoure reed ȝe couthe nat reulie ȝow-selue.

Prof. Skeat gives no significant variants. But MS. Bodl. 814 has:

> For hadde ȝe ratouns ȝour reik ȝe couþe not reule ȝowsylue.

There seems to be no doubt that *reik* (= 'course,' 'way,' Old Norse *reik*, see *Raik* in the Oxford Dictionary) is the superior reading[1]. It makes better sense than *reed*—if indeed the latter makes any at all—and is supported by the occurrence of the phrase *to have one's raik*, exactly corresponding to mod. Eng. 'to have one's way,' in the *Political Poems* (Rolls Series), vol. II, p. 73, of date 1401:

> that ȝe myȝten have ȝour reyke
> and prechen what ȝou list.

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[1] The reading appears first in print (so far as I know) in my little edition of the *Prologue* in Messrs Horace Marshall and Son's *Carmelite Classics*.

Moreover, the word, being peculiar to northern dialects, would be very liable to alteration at the hand of a southern scribe. The line was evidently a general stumbling-block to the copyists. The unintelligible 'no roife' of MS. Douce 104, may very well be a scribal mangling of 'ȝour reik.' The corresponding line of the B text has been so far mutilated as to lose its alliteration in the first half: 'For had ȝe rattes ȝowre wille.'

C. Talbut Onions.

MIDDLE ENGLISH 'COVEISE.'

This word seems to have been missed by the lexicographers, yet it appears to be sufficiently well authenticated by the following two passages:

> And by þis hope bineþe bileue shulden be two synnes fled, pride of men, and coueise. (*Tractatus de Ecclesia* ascribed to Wycliffe, ed. Todd, cap. I, p. vi.)
>
> For coueyse of copes contrarieden summe doctoures. (*Piers Plowman*, Prologue, C text, line 59, in MS. Bodl. 814.)

It represents, of course, the Old French *covise* (from Latin *cupiditia*) which existed side by side with the more usual *coveitise* (answering to a type-form **cupidititia*). It is probable that in some Middle English texts where *covetise* has been printed, this is due to an editorial 'correction' of a manuscript *coveise*.

C. Talbut Onions.

SHAKESPEAREANA.

(1) *Twelfth Night*, I, v, 150:

> *Ol.* What kinde o' man is he?
> *Mal.* Why of mankinde.

A little knowledge of Elizabethan phraseology would save editors from stumbling over this passage. Mr Furness, for example, says 'this dallying with words ... I do not understand.' 'Mankind' is regularly used of women in the sense of 'virago,' and there is dramatic irony in making Malvolio apply it to Viola who is disguised as a man. He has an instinctive feeling that she is a woman, though he has not defined it. 'He speakes verie shrewishly,' he says afterwards. For 'mankind' = 'virago,' cf. *Roister Doister*, IV, viii, 41, 'she is mankine'; *Tell-trothes New-yeares Gift* (ed. Furnivall, p. 80), 'She was a mankinde creature'; *The Two Angry Women of Abington* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, VII, 319), 'Why, she is mankind'; *Grim the Collier of Croydon* (Hazlitt's Dodsley, VIII, 439), 'O, she's mankind grown'; *Coriolanus,* IV, ii, 16, 'Are you mankind?' [of Virgilia]; *Winter's Tale,* II, iii, 67, 'A mankind witch,' [of Paulina].

(2) *Twelfth Night,* I, v, 205:

> Tell me your minde, I am a messenger.

Warburton, followed by other commentators, unnecessarily proposed to divide these words between the two speakers. Others have suspected corruption. They are quite intelligible as they stand, if it be remembered that a common formula of dismissing a messenger in the Tudor and the Elizabethan drama was 'You know my mind.' The converse of this is 'tell me your mind.' In answer to this request Olivia says, 'Your Lord does know my mind' (I, v, 255). For 'you know my mind,' cf. *Roister Doister,* I, ii, 175, 'Ye knowe my minde'; Marlowe, *Jew of Malta,* IV, i, 'Friar Barnadine, go you with Ithamore, You know my mind'; *Edward the Second,* I, iv, 423, 'You know my mind: come, uncle, let's away.'

W. H. WILLIAMS.

REVIEWS.

Un Poète Réaliste Anglais, George Crabbe, 1754–1832. Par RENÉ HUCHON. Paris: Hachette & Cie., 1906. 8vo. xi + 688 pp.

George Crabbe and his Times, 1754–1832. A Critical and Biographical Study. By RENÉ HUCHON. Translated by FREDERICK CLARKE. London: John Murray, 1907. 8vo. xvi + 561 pp.

M. Huchon's excellent bibliography of the successive editions of Crabbe's works and the principal articles relating to them modestly makes no pretension to completeness; but it shows how timely is his own study, and it justifies the fullness with which he has treated *The Village, The Borough* and the *Tales in Verse.* To the first life of the poet, by his son, M. Huchon will not allow substantial merits. He insists that it was the biographical effort of a 'pasteur nullement poète' and therefore apologetic rather than appreciative in reference to the poetical part of its subject. More cogent objection is urged that what value it might have had was spoilt by its inaccuracies and its abuse of editorial power. It is probable that higher recognition should be made of its qualities of construction and proportion, as also of its fine balance in filial tone. But students of Crabbe will agree with M. Huchon that the work of its redactors Mr Kebbel and Canon Ainger has been merely perfunctory, repeating earlier errors and making no essential advance in critical standpoint. In the bibliographical list a striking illustration is offered of the varying mood of a century in the frequency and importance of its references to Crabbe. Three pages are occupied in accounting for the years 1780 to 1854, one more suffices to bring the reference up to date. It is safe to say that 'a neglected poet' is a recurring phrase in the majority of these later articles; and even the activity of reprints, of which the three Cambridge volumes are the crown, has left this author in what one reviewer aptly calls a state of 'suspended animation.' At this juncture M. Huchon presents an elaborate and authoritative study, which is not only the first adequate treatment of a poet who has every claim to it, but will be readily accepted as a standard of accomplishment.

M. Huchon has had access to many important sources of information, of which use has not hitherto been made; and he has spared no labour in interpreting and supplementing them. He has travelled observantly through parts of England associated with Crabbe, acting on the assumption, with which few will quarrel, that the subject of his study is 'un poète dont le regard est toujours resté fixé sur le sol natal, sur les spectacles et les hommes familiers à son enfance.' And there is no quarter of information or suggestion that has not been searched. Collections of letters and of miscellaneous material, unpublished poems, sermons in manuscript, the resources of the library at Belvoir Castle, the papers of the Historical Manuscripts Commission—all that is available has been pressed into service. And the result is a minute and consecutive narrative that gives us a new sense of intimacy with the Reverend George Crabbe. As usual fuller knowledge implies rejection of some well-established and pleasing fictions; but on the whole the processes of research are here constructive; many points are brought forward and elucidated for the first time, and passages from the poems have their natural place in the story, and bring their proper contribution to the whole psychology. We subscribe without reserve to the praise with which M. Huchon's biography has been received; but we would remind his readers that the volume had a further purpose; its aim was not only to rewrite with modern resources the life of 1834, but to analyse and criticise in detail the talent of the poet; and some reservations must be made in indicating the success of this second endeavour. It is true that M. Huchon confesses that the biographical part of his task proved for him 'de beaucoup la plus intéressante.' And it is true on the other hand that the final judgment of his criticism is admirable for its penetration and its sincerity. On p. 627 he writes: 'Écrivain de transition, classique d'origine, réaliste par tempérament et romantique en de très rare instants, il ne réussit pas à concilier les contraires qui se heurtent en lui-même et dans ses vers......Son caractère et son œuvre manquent de cette élévation, de cette harmonie auxquelles se reconnait la vraie grandeur. Il demeura isolé, sans imitateurs, et sans disciples. Mais il avait exercé une influence décisive au moment opportun. Mieux encore, il avait été un de ces hommes, rare en tout temps, qui osent, ne fût-ce qu'en un point, regarder la réalité en face, et dire ce qu'ils ont vu, sans se soucier des préjugés. Qu'importent après cela les timidités de sa pensée philosophique ou religieuse et les faiblesses de son style?'

That is a summary that leaves Crabbe exactly where he was, at the parting of the ways; like Cowper in some aspects but with a stronger interest on the human side, like Thomson also, but more realistic and more detailed. In his earlier period he has almost the manner of the eighteenth century, in his later he is almost of the nineteenth. But he does not belong exactly to either. The true parallel to Crabbe is Gray. Both are romanticists only in a very limited sense, yet neither of them is a classicist as Pope is a classicist. M. Huchon does not fail to disengage in the poems the true transition quality of his author; but he is less clear and less convincing where he attempts to relate it to the past and to the future. His critical perspective is not quite free from fault.

His thesis, for instance, of Crabbe's realism is that it was in harmony with the tradition of the eighteenth century, and opposed to the dawning Romanticism. And he presents the realism of the century in these terms (p. 329): 'En philosophie Locke fut conduit, par la négation des idées innées, à faire de l'expérience la source unique de nos connaissances; en théologie, les déistes voulurent ramener la religion du ciel sur la terre, et la justifier, non plus par une révélation surnaturelle, mais par une interprétation rationnelle de la création et de la conscience. La poésie elle-même, renonçant aux accents lyriques et aux chansons du passé, se rapprocha du sol et de la vie réelle, se plut avec Thomson et Cowper à décrire la nature sous ses aspects grandioses ou familiers, se fit satirique, affronta hardiment la lutte des partis avec Dryden, se mit au service des rancunes personnelles de Pope, et fustigea laborieusement les travers de la société contemporaine dans les distiques antithétiques de Young.' We have not space within our limits to analyse this unhappy page, or to go beyond it and ask what is meant by the statement that 'it was in order to accentuate the realism of his illustrious predecessor that Fielding wrote his *Joseph Andrews*.' But surely the whole passage, with its inconsequent grouping, its partial reference, its inept epithet, is quite inadequate as a résumé of the classical tradition, and thus fails to secure the only historical background for the treatment of *The Borough*. The impression conveyed by the whole chapter too is the same, that M. Huchon has not realised sufficiently that Pope is the centre and culmination of the classical movement, and that no theory of naturalism is available for critical purposes until it has squared itself with Pope's explicit exposition of what his age meant by 'Nature' as the basis of Art. This is not merely an initial consideration for the century in general; it will lead direct to the definition of Crabbe's place in the English sequence from which M. Huchon always seems to escape. Nor is it to call for any unusual appreciation of Pope and his creed. On the contrary it depends upon a clear discrimination of its actual limitations. And this is not difficult. To follow the different channels of Romantic reaction requires a nice critical equipment: to note the points at which it began is a simpler task. It is easy to detect the weaker elements of a code; and the critic of Crabbe must begin in that way with Pope, by defining the limits of his aesthetic conception. In placing nature in front of the artist as the source of his copy, and requiring his imagination to limit itself to tracing out or completing the processes of nature, Pope does not allow for his imitation an unfettered choice even of what is in nature; he must not copy at hazard and without discernment. There are functions in life that are either indifferent and nonproductive, or are low and ignoble, humiliating in their consequences, yet both natural for all that. And Classicism will not admit their ignominy into Art for the sake of what is natural in their suggestion; it would pay respect in Art to the etiquette of life, to the sentiment of what is ordered and decent. Roscommon's couplet was:

Immodest words admit of no defence
For want of decency is want of sense.

This elimination of the representation of inferior orders in nature is inherent in Pope's injunction to 'follow Nature.' He meant, and he was the epitome of his age in this as in other respects, that lower orders of experience are held by us in common with the animal creation, that it is not by virtue of them that we achieve our human nature, but in spite of them; that what makes us human is that we can parry their sollicitations with the power to check or guide them. We add to instinct reason, and since the latter distinguishes us it rather than instinct should form the main reference of Art. And where lower orders are used it is in subordination to a strict didactic purpose; and the choice of language much be such that the things of original experience pass through its medium into intellectual recollections or summaries of what they were. 'Homer' says Bossuet 'and so many other poets whose works are as serious as they are agreeable, extol only the arts that are useful to humanity; they breathe only the public weal and its admirable civility.'

Crabbe is the inheritor of this code. But his poetry is essentially a modification or an extension of it. He is partially in sympathy with it, in its emphasis for instance on the normal average elements in humanity. He chose his characters from the middle class, 'because on the one hand they do not live in the eye of the world, and therefore are not kept in awe by the dread of observation and indecorum; neither on the other are they debarred by their want of means from the cultivation of mind and the pursuits of wealth and ambition.' But his sympathy ends there; and his real work is the restoration of the lower orders of experience that Classicism had proscribed. The sordid and the ugly and the unvarnished, the outcast and broken in life, the noxious or the despised in nature—his material always lies there, and the resultant picture conveys their original gloom, the almost unrelieved despair. His temper is not exactly pessimistic, and it certainly is not cynical. The personal motive is practically always one of compassion. But the *literary* presentment rests on a deliberate choice of the processes of depression and degeneration. It aims persistently at the reproduction of the elements that Pope ignored; and it cannot therefore be represented as 'in harmony with the tradition of the eighteenth century.' We know that Jeffrey who was in such harmony censured Crabbe on the ground of indelicacy.

This differentiation of Crabbe's method from the procedure of Classicism does not imply however its approach to positive Romanticism. M. Huchon recognises this amply, and is drawn into no misleading parallels; but he scarcely states the reason for it with sufficient emphasis. The old charge against the eighteenth century was that it was artificial and insincere. As a matter of fact artificiality is now more apparent in the reaction; the early Romantics are seen to be less sincere than what they reacted against. And Crabbe though he extended the classical interpretation of Nature is not in sympathy with the Romantic mood simply because of his plain sincerity. He is alien to the dilettante experiment of the Sentimentalists, and his art is not a pastiche as is that of the Walpole group. He protested more than once against their unreality. Their characters he said were

> Creatures borrowed and again conveyed
> From book to book—the shadows of a shade.

And it is his sense of this that gives him his essential independence. His conception of Nature is not Pope's; but like Pope he is as a literary factor artistically and aesthetically sincere. And that is why he has more points of contact with the naturalism that succeeded the Romantic expression than with that expression itself. The exact nature of that contact M. Huchon indicates succinctly and accurately when he says (p. 389), 'Le realisme psychologique de Crabbe a ses limites évidentes. Son domaine est l'individuel; sa matière est la passion isolée'; and that the task of modern naturalism was (p. 390) 'replacer le personnage dans son milieu social, le suivre dans ses démarches, dans ses camaraderies, dans ses occupations.' But is not the same argument an insuperable proof that Crabbe was not in 'harmony with the tradition of the eighteenth century,' which everywhere subordinated the individual to the general interest?

A. BLYTH WEBSTER.

Victoria. A Latin Comedy. By ABRAHAM FRAUNCE. Edited from the Penshurst Manuscript by G. C. MOORE SMITH. (*Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas,* XIV. Band.) Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1906. 8vo. xl + 130 pp.

Professor Moore Smith, dem wir schon eine treffliche Ausgabe der lateinischen Komödie *Pedantius* verdanken, hat uns hier mit einem Universitätsdrama aus dem Anfang der achtziger Jahre des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts bekannt gemacht, von dem die Literarhistoriker bisher noch gar nichts wussten. Es ist ein erfreuliches Zeichen wie das Interesse an den lateinischen Dramen der Elisabethzeit gewachsen ist. Dies ist ein Lustspiel von Abraham Fraunce und keinem Geringeren als Philip Sidney gewidmet. Der Herausgeber hat das bis heute in Sidneys Schloss Penshurst erhaltene Originalmanuskript genau abgedruckt und durch knappe, sehr fleissige Anmerkungen erläutert, die vor allem die in dem Stück vorkommenden Citate und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten nachweisen und die okkultistischen Riten erklären. In der Einleitung erhalten wir einen erschöpfenden Bericht über das Leben und die sonstigen Werke von Fraunce, der auch für die Schulverhältnisse der Zeit allgemein Interessantes bringt. Dagegen ist der Herausgeber auf die literarhistorische Stellung der *Victoria* nicht eingegangen, obwohl sie mir das Wichtigste an seiner Veröffentlichung zu sein scheint. Nur eine Inhaltsangabe des Stückes bringt die Einleitung. 'Es ist eine alte Geschichte,' von Fidelis dem treuen, und Fortunius, dem glücklichen Liebhaber der Victoria, die bei der Barbara ihre Rollen vertauscht haben, also einer Liebeskette, noch geschlossener als im *Sommernachtstraum.* Die Knoten sind gut geschürzt, aber die Lösung ist ungeschickt

und gewaltsam. Victoria wird Fidelis wieder zugetan, weil dieser ihren Gatten Cornelius, den er erst selbst gegen die Treulose aufgehetzt hatte, wieder besänftigt; Barbara aber fügt sich einer aus Verwechslung entstandenen Tatsache und nimmt Fortunius zum Gemahl. Dazu kommt Gift und Liebeszauber, ein verliebter und genarrter Pedant und ein mit Prügeln bedachter Bramarbas. Diener und Mägde, die in der Not für die Herrschaft genommen werden, dürfen natürlich nicht fehlen. Es ist der typische Apparat der italienischen Komödie des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts.

Dass Fraunce also eine italienische Quelle vorlag, ist auf den ersten Blick zu erkennen. Aber die Namen der beiden Liebhaber Fidelis und Fortunius, sowie der des Bramarbas Frangipetra weisen noch nach einer anderen Richtung. Ich meine das Anthony Munday zugeschriebene Lustspiel *The Two Italian Gentlemen,* in dem auch ein Liebhaberpaar Fidele und Fortunio und ein Bramarbas Crackstone vorkommen. Collier kannte noch zwei Exemplare dieses Stückes, Halliwell scheint nur eines gesehen zu haben: heute sind sie beide, weil sie keine Titelblätter mehr hatten, verschollen. Es ist klar, dass sowohl das englische als das lateinische Lustspiel auf ein gemeinsames italienisches Original zurückgehen, schon deshalb weil das erstere, das die italienischen Namensformen beibehält, ausdrücklich als Übersetzung bezeichnet wird. Ich teilte meine Bemerkung Herrn Professor Moore Smith mit, und es ist nun ihm selbst gelungen, die gemeinsame Quelle zu finden, nämlich in Luigi Pasqualigos nach der Vorrede zuerst 1575 erschienener Komödie *Il Fedele.* Er hat mir freundlichst gestattet, die Vergleichung vorzunehmen und sie hier zu verwerten. Ich habe das Exemplar der Weimarer Bibliothek benützen können: '*Il Fedele,* Comedia del clarissimo M. Luigi Pasqualigo. Di nuouo ristampata, & ricorretta. Con priuilegio. In Venetia, Appresso gli Heredi di Francesco Ziletti. 1589.' Dabei stellt sich heraus, dass Fraunce im Allgemeinen eine fast wörtliche Übersetzung geliefert hat. Er hat die italienische Prosa in seinen terenzischen Rhythmus umgegossen und ist dabei im Wesentlichen nur kürzend verfahren. Gewonnen hat das Stück dadurch nicht viel, der Realismus ist in dem akademischen Stil verloren gegangen, und die schon so nicht einfache Liebesintrige ist durch seine Kürzung nicht klarer geworden. Selbständige Zusätze hat Fraunce in der ersten Hälfte des Stückes gemacht: im ersten Akt Monolog und Lied des Dieners Gallulus (Sc. 8), im zweiten einen philosophischen Dialog zwischen den Dienstboten Narcissus und Attilia (Sc. 7, Vers 929—977), der wahrhaftig keine Besserung bedeutet, und im dritten, ausser der Scene 7, wo der Pedant mit seinem Knaben eine Liebeserklärung einübt—ein oft wiederholtes Motiv—noch eine Diebsgeschichte (Sc. 8), die, wie Koeppel, *Anglia Beiblatt,* XVII, 365, gezeigt hat, aus Boccaccios *Decamerone,* II, 5 stammt. Für die erstere Zugabe brauchte er den von der Pedantenfigur fast unzertrennlichen Schüler, den er Pegasus nennt und zum Teil mit der einen Dienerrolle (Renato) ausstattet, und für die letztere zwei Diebe, Pyrgopolinices und Terrapontigonus. Aber dann scheint er gefürchtet zu haben, das Stück werde zu lang, und kürzt nun energischer als vorher. Er lässt zwei Scenen im dritten Akt (9 und 12 bei Pasqualigo) zwischen Victoria, der Magd Virginia und dem Knaben Pegasus (bei Pasqualigo Vittoria, Beatrice, Renato) und zwischen der Zauberin Medusa und Virginia (Beatrice im Italienischen) weg; ebenso im vierten Akt ein Selbstgespräch des Pedanten (9 bei Pasqualigo) und im fünften eine sehr wirkungsvolle Scene, wo der Bramarbas wie ein Kalb im Netz durch die Strassen geschleppt wird. Dass Fraunce sich diese packende Situationskomik entgehen liess, stellt seinem Humor kein gutes Zeugnis aus. Sein Werk ist also wenig mehr als eine kürzende Übersetzung von Pasqualigos Komödie. Auch die lateinischen Sentenzen, mit denen namentlich die Reden des Pedanten fleissig gespickt sind, finden sich meist schon dort.

Wesentlich anders ist das Verhältnis von Munday zu dem italienischen Original. Leider ist ja, wie erwähnt, kein Exemplar der *Two Italian Gentlemen* auffindbar, so dass wir auf den Auszug angewiesen sind, den J. O. Halliwell 1851 in dem Privatdruck *The Literature of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries illustrated by Reprints of very rare Tracts* gedruckt hat. Die Widmung des am 12. November 1584 in die Register der Stationers' Company eingetragenen Buches trägt die Unterschrift 'A. M.,' woraus Collier (*History of English Dramatic Poetry*, III, 60) auf Anthony Munday als Verfasser schloss. Durch die Liebenswürdigkeit des Herrn Professor Robertson habe ich eine Abschrift von Halliwells Auszug erhalten, der mir eine Vergleichung ermöglicht hat. Munday hat in seiner Komödie, die in reimenden Septenarpaaren abgefasst ist, die Namen Pasqualigos unverändert beibehalten, während Fraunce aus irgend einer Laune den Namen Virginia von der liebenden Jungfrau auf eine der Mägde übertrug. Aber von dieser Äusserlichkeit abgesehen hält sich Munday durchaus nicht sklavisch an die Vorlage, obwohl sein Stück als Übersetzung bezeichnet wird ('translated into Englishe,' *Stat. Reg.*). Namentlich hat er die Rolle des 'miles gloriosus' weiter ausgestaltet und diese Figur in den Vordergrund des Interesses gerückt: er hat deshalb auch im Titel 'The merie deuises of Captaine Crackstone' besonders erwähnt. Während der Bramarbas im italienischen Stück nur eine passive Nebenfigur ist, greift er hier von vornherein selbst aktiv in die Intrige ein: er ist nicht nur wie dort ein gemieteter Bravo, sondern er handelt auf eigene Faust und für sich selbst. Er hat zum grössten Teil die Rolle des verliebten Pedanten Onofrio übernommen. Ebenso scheinen Fidele und Fortunio bei Munday ihre Charaktere getauscht zu haben. Die Komik ist natürlich in dem englischen Volksstück viel derber als in der Komödie des Italieners oder dem akademischen Lustspiel von Fraunce. Eine sehr wirksame Situation ist die, wo der Pedant sich in dem alten Sarkophag versteckt hat, um die anderen zu belauschen und dann ängstlich den Kopf herausstreckt und sofort wieder einzieht. Bei Munday taucht der 'Capitano' 'continually' auf und unter, wie der Teufel im deutschen Kasperle-Theater. Die Frauen haben die Kerzen in den Sarkophag geworfen, die sie bei ihrem Liebeszauber gebraucht hatten, und Onofrio steigt mit einem brennenden Licht in der Hand heraus. Das ist Munday nicht drastisch genug: 'Crack-stone riseth out of the tomb, with one candle in his mouth, and in each hand one.' Da ist es kein Wunder, wenn ihn die Anderen für den Teufel halten und davonlaufen. Der gelehrte Fraunce dagegen hat aus den Kerzen Lampen gemacht, die in das Grab geworfen werden. Noch viel derber ist bei Munday die Scene, wo der Bramarbas im Netz gefangen hereingebracht wird, wobei er von der Magd Attilia mit etwas Hässlichem begossen wird—auf offener Bühne! Mit dem scenischen Aufbau seiner Vorlage ist Munday sehr frei verfahren. Seine erste Scene ist aus der vierten bei Pasqualigo abgeleitet, seine zweite entspricht der vierten und fünften dort. Das kommt wohl daher, dass Munday den Dienerapparat vereinfacht hat: der Pedant hat die Rolle der Diener übernommen, indem er seine eigene an den Bramarbas abtrat. Noch mehr als Fraunce hat Munday Lieder eingefügt. Ein Lied der Victoria, das sich auf eine Stelle in der fünften Scene der ersten Akts bei Pasqualigo gründet, und ein zweites von Fedele hat Halliwell abgedruckt; das erstere steht auch (mit einer bedeutungslosen Abweichung) in Collier's *History of Dramatic Poetry*, III, 62. Eine Zauberstrophe der Hexe Medusa wiederholt genau die Prosaworte des Italienischen, wie überhaupt die ganze Liebeszauberscene sich vielfach wörtlich an Akt I, Sc. 9 des Originals anlehnt. Der zweite Akt wird mit derselben Scene bei Munday wie bei Pasqualigo eröffnet, aber aus dem Pedanten 'Onofrio travestito da servitor' ist 'Captain Crackstone als Schulmeister verkleidet' geworden. Wenn es dann weiter heisst 'Fedele reads the letter in Italian, and Pedante interprets it in English,' so erinnert diese Ungeschicklichkeit schon stark an des alten Hieronymo Tragödie 'in sundrie languages.' Während in der dritten Scene dieses Akts im italienischen Stück die Frauen als Mägde verkleidet auftreten, lässt sie Munday Nonnenkostüme anziehen: denn der Sarkophag oder das Grab befindet sich in einem Tempel oder—wie es später heisst—in einer Kapelle. Umarbeitungen von Scene 4 und 6 druckt Halliwell aus dem zweiten Akt der *Two Italian Gentlemen* ab, während die Bramarbas-Scene (II, 15) bei Munday in den dritten Akt gezogen zu sein scheint. Sehr frei sind auch die beiden letzten Akte behandelt, von denen Halliwell IV, 1, 5 und 6 (auf IV, 4 (?), 8 und 11 bei Pasqualigo zurückgehend) abdruckt. Es finden sich kaum mehr als ein paar Anklänge an das Original. Dann folgt in seinem Auszug die von Fraunce weggelassene Scene *Fedele*, V, 6, wo Crackstone im Netz durch die Strassen geschleppt wird. Dies ist von Munday in der oben angedeuteten Weise ausgeschmückt worden. Ausserdem aber singt auch hier wieder Crackstone ein Lied auf seine traurige Situation. Mit einer Rede des Bramarbas und einer 'Allemande' des Orchesters schliesst der vierte Akt. Der fünfte beginnt mit Akt IV, Sc. 13 des Originals, wo der Pedant, hier der Bramarbas, die Magd für die Herrin nimmt und mit ihr verhaftet wird. Endlich druckt Halliwell noch einen Teil von Akt V, Sc. 4 (V, 7 bei Pasqualigo), ab, die die Lösung und die Vereinigung der Liebenden bringt. Die Kuppelhexe Medusa spricht sehr passend statt des Pedanten die Schlussverse des Stückes.

Die beiden englischen Dichter haben ungefähr gleichzeitig Pasqualigos Komödie bearbeitet—Fraunce vor 1583, Munday vor November 1584; aber wie verschieden stehen sie dem Original gegenüber! Der pedantische Gelehrte Fraunce liefert eine fast wörtliche lateinische Übersetzung, der volkstümliche Poet Munday dagegen schafft das Stück selbständig um zu einem zwar derben aber ganz geschickt aufgebauten englischen Bramarbas-Lustspiel. In seiner Vorrede zu den *Two Italian Gentlemen* empfiehlt 'A. M.' (Munday) seinem Gönner 'this prettie conceit, as well for the invention, as the delicate contrivance thereof, not doubting but you will so esteeme thereof, as it dooth very well deserve.' Dazu bemerkt Collier (*Hist. Dramat. Poetry*, III, 61): 'Had Munday been more than the translator, he would scarcely have spoken of the piece in the terms he has here employed.' Das sollte man allerdings denken: und doch hat sich bei dem Vergleich mit Pasqualigos *Fedele* gezeigt, dass Munday viel mehr ist als ein blosser Übersetzer.

Zum Schluss möchte ich noch Professor Moore Smith und dem Herausgeber der *Materialien*, Professor Bang den besten Dank aussprechen für die Veröffentlichung der interessanten lateinischen Komödie, die uns zum Verständnis eines halbverschollenen englischen Lustspiels aus der Frühzeit des Dramas verholfen hat.

WOLFGANG KELLER.

English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries. Being a Sketch of English Prosodical Criticism during the last two hundred years. By T. S. OMOND. London: H. Frowde, 1907. 8vo. viii + 274 pp.

Mr Omond's new book is a thorough and conscientious study of English metrical theory, written without undue partiality; but the exposition is coloured, unwittingly no doubt, by the writer's own views of metre. This has the advantage of giving unity and cohesion to the presentment of a hundred and one theories all at sixes and sevens, but it also means that Mr Omond's history must, to a considerable extent, stand or fall with his own theory.

To the main position of this theory, that (to quote from Mr Omond's *Study of Metre*, p. 6) 'time is the real basis of...metre, and syllables are comparatively unimportant'; that, 'in other words, the periods may be either occupied by sound or left blank (to some extent at least) apparently as the writer wills,' no exception can be taken, except by uncompromising exponents of the historical or of the pseudo-historical position, who refuse to go behind the facts, real or supposed, of prosodical history. But the metrist has next to face the question: How are verses to be read? As prose or as verse? On the answer to this depends the nature of all that follows. Professor Gummere answers unhesitatingly, and Mr Omond with some restrictions and provisos, 'as verse.' Both insist that 'those subtle effects in rhythm which mean so much in the poet's art' can only be brought out by a certain insistence on the metrical structure. Although Mr Omond expressly denies (p. 152) 'that word-accent and metrical beat must coincide,' his insistence on 'the process of adjustment which has to be reckoned with in addition to prose feet and accents' and 'which constitutes the life of our verse,' would seem to indicate that the essential difference between a prose and verse reading is not in the main, in his opinion, a question of accent but of time. It is difficult, however, to accept this point of view, that, namely, the same syllables can be 'marshalled to various times.' The facts would seem rather to substantiate the view that the poet uses the prosodic elements with which the normal rhythm of the phrase provides him, without attempting to force words into a metrical scheme to which they do not naturally correspond. In fact, Poe is right, in spite of Mr Omond's disapproval (p. 143), in asserting that 'in perfect verse there would never be any disagreement between the rhythmical and the reading flow.'

The next problem which confronts Mr Omond is the relation of accent and quantity. No one, except Mr Dabney, now holds with Lanier that 'English speech habitually utters syllables in definite and simple relations of equality or proportion,' and that English quantity is as definite as Latin or Greek quantity (hypothetically) was. But the question cannot be evaded: Does the quantity of a syllable in English depend on its accent or not? Mr Omond denies this, while Professor Wulff, and many of the metrists criticised adversely in this particular by Mr Omond, as unhesitatingly affirm it. But the question is, after all, not fundamental. As long as we scan by groups of syllables and not by separate syllables, the value to be assigned to each syllable of the group is of little importance compared with the value of the whole group.

Mr Omond's is the first attempt to write a history of English prosodical theory, and he deserves the credit due to a pioneer in a very difficult subject; he has done more than anyone else to throw light on the obscure byways of English prosody. He has done ample justice to the work of Monboddo, Steele and, nearer at hand, of Poe, Guest and Coventry Patmore, besides rescuing from oblivion many lesser lights. It is to be regretted that Mr Omond did not see his way to include, in his bibliography at least, foreign work on English prosody, but he must be judged by what he has set out to do, and that he has done exceedingly well.

THOMAS B. RUDMOSE-BROWN.

Villani's Chronicle. Translated by ROSE E. SELFE and edited by PHILIP H. WICKSTEED. London: Constable, 1907. 8vo. pp. xlvi + 461.

This little book serves a double purpose, as was no doubt intended by its joint-authors. It puts the English reader in possession of a selection from Villani's Chronicle which is, for its object, complete, and in a wider sense representative, yet will whet his appetite for more;

and at the same time it supplies him with a running commentary on what may be called the political background of Dante's writings.

To get a really vivid glimpse of the life of that earlier generation whose heroes figure preponderatingly in the *Divina Commedia*, one flies, of course, instinctively to Salimbene. And for the Florence which saw Dante's political activity and exile—the Florence of 1300—Dino Compagni supplies, perhaps, a more detailed picture, and one more approximate to Dante's own point of view. But 'John Villani,' as Miss Selfe boldly styles him, remains as indispensable as ever he was before these other two became accessible; and, in Books IV—VIII becomes, as the editor of this selection well puts it, 'the best of all commentators upon one phase of Dante's manysided genius,' giving us, and from a point of view slightly different from Dante's, 'the material upon which Dante's judgements are passed.'

It is well that the Dante student, even in the elementary stages of his study, should have a more continuous and satisfactory acquaintance with Villani than is afforded by those little *entrée*-like portions that are served up in the footnotes of commentaries on the *Divina Commedia*; and the reader is fortunate in having his Villani 'dished up' by such competent hands. The editor of these selections is well and widely known as a meritorious popularizer of the poet's writings, and a deadly foe to certain traditional 'popular errors,' to some of which, it may be hoped, he has here given the *coup de grâce*. The translator, if she had only this present work to shew, would yet have earned our congratulations on a presentation of Villani's classic prose in a garb at once pleasing, dignified and literal. The book is well printed and bound and pleasant to handle. Perhaps we ought to notice an error on p. 22, whereby four misplaced lines make nonsense and the reader is left hopelessly mystified.

LONSDALE RAGG.

La Vita Nuova di DANTE ALIGHIERI. Per cura di MICHELE BARBI. Milan: Hoepli, 1907. 8vo. cclxxxvi + 104 pp.

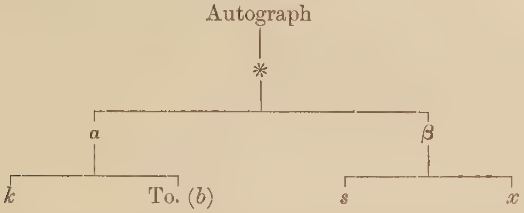
'Exspectata venis!' we may well cry to Barbi's critical edition of the *Vita Nuova*, for, as he reminds us in his preface, it has been announced to 'appear shortly' for fourteen years. 'Other occupations, and the discovery of a fresh MS. of great importance, of which I was unable to obtain an adequate collation before November, 1905,' says Barbi, are the causes of this delay. The MS. in question, which is one of the Zelada MSS. in Toledo, is of extreme interest. It was known to students of the text of the *Vita Nuova* that the majority of the existing MSS. preserve the work not in the form in which its author left it, but in a recension due to Boccaccio. Several of these MSS. preserve a marginal note, in which Boccaccio gives a charmingly characteristic account of his proceedings. He relegates to the margin the analyses of the poems which Dante (to the great annoyance of his readers, it must be confessed) had incorporated in the text; and this, in the first place, because he thinks that is their most fitting place, and, in the second place, because he has heard on good authority that Dante himself was ashamed in his maturity of ever having written so juvenile a work as the *Vita Nuova,* and was especially distressed at having incorporated the analyses in the text. So Boccaccio, 'being unable to remedy the other defects,' at least consulted the wishes of the author in this, and made his copy accordingly! It should be added that a few consequential changes are introduced into the text. The result was exactly what might have been foreseen. A few of the copyists followed Boccaccio exactly. Others dropped his note, preserved his changes in the text, and re-incorporated the analyses, putting them all after the poems to which they refer, instead of making them precede the poems from the point of Beatrice's death onwards. And yet others omitted both the note and the analyses, and presented the continuous text, as modified by Boccaccio, without them.

Now the Toledo MS. turns out to be nothing less than the original MS., in Boccaccio's own hand, from which all this family is derived. It is, in fact, Boccaccio's original recension of the *Vita Nuova.* Moreover it is one of the oldest MSS., and according to Barbi's grouping there are only two (lost) codices between it and Dante's autograph, whereas there are respectively three, four, and five (all lost) between the autograph and each of the other three MSS. which rival Boccaccio's in antiquity. Seeing then that the alterations introduced into the text are few and easily recognised, the Toledo MS. must rank with the very first authorities for the construction of a critical text. Had Boccaccio been less intelligent and more careful than he actually was, its authority would have been higher yet; but his carelessness allowed him to drop out many words and phrases and his intelligence often induced him to alter expressions, which a more plodding scribe would have copied exactly whether he had understood them or not.

The four earliest MSS.—the Chigi, the Toledo, the Magliabecchian, and the Martelli—are representatives of four distinct families of MSS., denominated respectively k, b, s, and x by Barbi. The archetypes of the families k, s and x no longer exist, and they have to be reconstructed by a comparison of several descendants. The archetype of s for example was copied by the scribe of the Magliabecchian MS. and the scribe of a Verona MS. of half a century later. It is by comparison of these two that the archetype of the group must be reconstructed. The archetypes k and x have to be recovered from more complex and abundant data, and by a more elaborate process; but the immense progeny of b (far more numerous than all the others put together) now rejoice in the possession of their actual paterfamilias, so that there is no need to reconstruct their prototype conjecturally. It stands before us. Of these four groups or families, k and b are assigned by Barbi to a common tradition—α, and s and x to another common tradition—β. The prototypes of α and β, Barbi supposes to have been copied from the same

MS. But it was not the autograph, for it already contained some obvious corruptions.

The proximate sources for the establishment of the text, therefore, are the reconstructed archetypes *a* and *β*, and the proximate sources for the reconstruction of these latter are the reconstructed archetypes of *s* and *x* for *β*, and the reconstructed archetype of *k* together with the Toledo MS. itself for *a*. Thus:—



These results are reached by a minute examination of the ultimate *materia critica* in the 77 existing manuscripts (complete, fragmentary or selective) of the *Vita Nuova* or its poems.

By far the most valuable and laborious portion of Barbi's work consists in the collection and tabulation of the characteristic variants on which his genealogical tree of the texts is based. Its accuracy must be tested by time, but its acuteness, caution, and minute conscientiousness proclaim themselves at a glance. It is interesting to compare the results with those of Beck's edition of 1896, and to note the immense advance in precision and system. Even in the numerous cases in which Barbi confirms Beck's general grouping, he constantly corrects it in detail, showing for example that two MSS. directly affiliated by Beck must be regarded as independent copies of a lost codex.

Assuming that Barbi's work stands the test of future verifications, it is impossible to speak with too much gratitude of what he has given us, and yet he has not given us enough. There is no complete register of the variants. The tables give those readings that Barbi regards as characteristic for the grouping of the MSS. and the determination of the reading of the archetype. And on this point there is, of course, ample room for diversity of judgment. At the foot of the text itself there are discussions of special points and a meagre *apparatus criticus*, thus described by the editor: 'In cases of disagreement between *a* and *β*, the variant that has been rejected is registered....If special reasons determine a departure from the reading common to the two traditions, or the reading common to one of them and a family of the other, the rejected reading is registered. The variants of a single group are also registered, when from their nature it seems impossible absolutely to exclude their attribution to the author, however improbable it may seem. Only where the readings of the archetypes cannot be established with certainty by a comparison of the derived MSS. are the elements necessary for its critical reconstruction supplied.' In other cases the reader is referred for information as to the actual MS. readings to the elaborate tables that have been drawn out in the Introduction. It is obvious from this that the reader is almost entirely at the mercy of the editor. It seems a pity that having given us so much he has not been more generous here. Moreover, he barely fulfils even his promise. There are numerous cases, for example, in which words have fallen out from one of the traditions, leaving a more or less obvious hiatus. The letter of Barbi's promise would lead us to expect that these cases would be noted in the *apparatus criticus*; for it is clear that the hiatus may in theory be due to the common source of a and β, and that one or other of them may have conjecturally filled it. The expectation however is not fulfilled. Beck's edition, then, remains the only one in which the editor, to the best of his power, has given us the whole material at his command; and a glance at his edition will at once reveal variants which Barbi does not register.

It should further be noticed that Barbi excuses himself from any but incidental notice of those MSS. of the *Vita Nuova* Canzoni, which are not obviously excerpts from the complete *Vita Nuova* itself. He does so on the ground that the relation between the text of the Canzoni as incorporated in the *Vita Nuova* and their text as independent poems is unknown to us. But surely the fact that the external tests for the value of evidence are as yet doubtful is no reason for suppressing the evidence itself. We ought to have before us the whole material, and nothing short of it should have been offered us in so elaborate and laborious a work as this.

To have given all the MS. readings at the foot of the page, as Beck has done (though very inaccurately, according to Barbi and the authorities he cites), would no doubt have involved much labour, but it need not have swelled the bulk of the volume inconveniently, and the absence of such a register leaves us, after waiting fourteen years, still without a reliable edition of the *Vita Nuova* which places the whole critical material before us.

Barbi has bestowed extreme care on the question of orthography, 'taken in its widest sense,' as he well says. In the absence of any evidence as to Dante's own practice in the matter of spelling he has attempted to establish the text on phonetic and morphological principles, and to make it represent, to the best of his power, the actual linguistic usage of Dante's time; and for this he deserves the grateful thanks of the reader who is not an expert. All the genealogical and other tables are models of clear arrangement. Beautiful facsimile specimens of five MSS., including the chief representatives of the four great families, are added.

PHILIP H. WICKSTEED.

A Grammar of the German Language. Designed for a thorough and practical Study of the Language as spoken and written to-day. By George O. Curme. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1905. 8vo. xix + 662 pp.

A grammar of more than 600 pages written in English and devoted to German, is a noteworthy event. That such a book come from the pen of an American scholar is a proof of the thoroughness with which the 'motley crowd' of modern languages are being studied in the United States, and will serve, it is to be hoped, as a stimulus to scholars in England, whose interests lie in the same direction. Up to the present, Mr Curme's subject has been very much neglected by English scholars. There has been little or no attempt to discharge the debt which we owe to German scholarship for its contribution to the scientific treatment of the English language. We have in this respect been receivers, not givers. Would that Mr Curme's book might be the herald of a new, and for English scholarship more flattering state of affairs! The author of the present book has performed his task with great industry. The capacity for taking pains may or may not be an attribute of genius, but it is certainly a very necessary quality in a scholar; evidently Mr Curme has not that contempt for 'spade-work,' which is perhaps one reason why German exponents of the methods of modern philology have met with so few rivals of equal calibre among the two great Anglo-Saxon nations of to-day. If the present book does ever so little to remove the reproach of dilettantism from Anglo-Saxon scholarship in such fields, it will more than justify its existence.

If I am inclined to criticise Mr Curme's work adversely in certain particulars, it is for the present almost entirely on the score of method. It has to be admitted that our ideas of method, as regards the treatment of a modern 'Kultursprache,' are still in a transition stage. I hold, however, that for the ends indicated, the proposals of Ries, and following on those, the break with tradition made by Sütterlin in his most stimulating book, *Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart*, represent a great advance in the treatment of modern German grammar. Of this movement, however, there is little or no trace to be found in the present book, greatly, as it appears to me, to the limitation of its usefulness.

Perhaps Mr Curme meant to disarm criticism of this kind by the statement in his Preface—where he might certainly have found room to discuss his attitude to the theories mentioned—that the book 'is written entirely from the standpoint of the needs of English-speaking students.' This means that the grammar is intended for such students as a means not only for theoretical, but also for practical study of the language: in other words, a repetition of the fatal mistake which for long smothered progress by making Grammar—essentially the theoretical study of language—the slave of practical aims. The present book seems to demonstrate anew the fallacy of this. To mention only one of many disadvantages, it crowds up the book with a great deal of unnecessary ballast. For example, six closely printed pages are devoted to rules of gender. These have no theoretical value, as the author confesses when he calls them 'only...a practical guide.' But they have also no practical value, on account of the number of exceptions. The practical observation that in cases of doubt one refers to the dictionary for the gender of a word rather than to the grammar, suggests in itself that such rules, if to be made at all, do not belong to the grammar. The scientific exposition of the facts of the language, which Mr Curme has doubtless aimed at, suffers tremendously by the frequent interruptions rendered necessary in order to tell the student how to translate this, that and the other into German. Sometimes the effect produced on the reader is almost comical, *e.g.*, in the case of such a statement as 'the English gerund is variously translated.' As if German speakers were translating their thoughts out of English! Surely it is time we freed ourselves from the naive assumption that the student of a foreign language is burning with the desire to translate his mother-tongue into it, and that this is the attitude of mind in which it must necessarily be approached by him; or, even should this be so, that the grammarian is necessarily bound to minister to this attitude of mind. If grammarians really undertake the ambitious programme which Mr Curme has mapped out for them, *viz.*, to show 'the power of language to express man's highest thoughts and deepest feelings,' it may be suspected that they will have considerable difficulty in carrying it out, so long as they submit to such limitations. It is accordingly my opinion that the author's plan of making not only an 'outline of German Grammar,' but also 'a valuable book of reference,' and one 'as complete as possible' on the lines he has adopted, was a mistaken plan. A scientific grammar of German in English is a great want, probably also an English work of reference on the lines of Paul's not to be overvalued *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, but can these things be combined? It is admittedly difficult to draw the line between the Grammar and the Dictionary; but it would be a great gain if we could do so, however vaguely, and Paul's *Wörterbuch*, so far as German is concerned, has, among many other merits, that of being a contribution towards solving the problem.

The best feature of this book is to be found in the fact that it is the fruit of an independent investigation of the linguistic material. Mr Curme's determination of usage in German speech is the result of his own observation of the German language as it is written and spoken to-day based upon extensive collections made by himself. He has not therefore fallen into the mistake, which natives often make, of representing the language as it ought (?) to be, instead of as it really is. He has likewise taken great pains to distinguish between literary and colloquial usage, and to devote to the latter the attention which it deserves, but seldom receives, as well as to make the necessary temporal distinctions. While, however, he seems on the whole to have adequately defined the relationship of the literary to the colloquial language, it is to me doubtful whether he has devoted sufficient attention to the boundary between the former and the dialects. This appears, for example, in the treatment of the construction in 'Da gehört ein Grogchen draufgesetzt.'

As Paul calls this south-west German, it is certainly rather inadequate to notice it here merely ‘by reason of its pithy terseness.’ But whatever deductions fall to be made on such score or on the score of plan and method, it seems to be certain that Mr Curme’s book has considerable value as an independent examination of the problem of German linguistic usage at the present day. It is a testimony to the author’s care and industry that his facts are, so far as I have noticed, correct. But his manner of stating grammatical things is often vague and lacking in precision; so much so that one may occasionally receive a general impression of inaccuracy, where it is not present. ‘The growth of letters has not kept pace with that of sounds,’ or ‘This change of vowel in the different tenses is the result of a different accent which obtained in an earlier period, but is now used to make more clear certain grammatical distinctions such as tense and number,’ or, speaking of Verner’s Law, ‘seen in Gothic and less perfectly in Old English and other Germanic languages,’ is not put with felicity. Nor is one much attracted by such rhetoric as ‘The historic memories of Germany lie in the South, but the present and future seem firmly seated in the North.’ Most probably this air of vagueness of expression results from the fact that the book, as already mentioned, ‘is written entirely from the standpoint of the needs of English-speaking students.’ One knows, alas, what such needs are, on this side of the Atlantic at any rate: examinations and cram-books! But in spite of the handicap under which Mr Curme has voluntarily worked, his book merited more than to be noticed under the heading ‘school books,’ as actually happened in the pages of a contemporary journal.

R. A. WILLIAMS.

Das Priamel bis Hans Rosenplüt. Studien zur Volkspoesie. Von KARL EULING. (*Germanistische Abhandlungen*, XXV.) Breslau: M. und H. Marcus, 1905. 8vo. viii + 583 pp.

Wer Gelegenheit hatte, eine grössere Anzahl deutscher Handschriften des XV. und XVI. Jahrhunderts durchzublättern, dem werden gewiss, sei es im Texte selbst, auf Blatträndern oder auf ursprünglich freigelassenen Stellen einzelne Beispiele jenes kleinen poetischen Gebildes aufgestossen sein, dessen Wesen und Entwicklung bis auf Hans Rosenplüt uns Euling in dem vorliegenden stattlichen, von störenden Druckfehlern[1] fast freien Bande vor Augen führt. Seit Herders Tagen hat das Priamel (so und nicht ‘die’ Priamel werden wir nun mit Euling zu schreiben haben) manchen denkenden Kopf beschäftigt, manchen Definitionsversuch hervorgerufen, ja im Jahre 1897 erschien darüber ein Buch von W. Uhl, der das Priamel dem Witz

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[1] Mir sind nur folgende aufgefallen: S. 65 zweite Zeile von unten lies: *von einer*; S. 125 Schlusszelie: *Zeile 2 im ersten Vers*; S. 298: Circlaria; S. 175 wird die Schreibung ‘expreß,’ ‘proceß’ Engländer seltsam anmuten.

gleichstellte und seine lateinische Bezeichnung auf akademische Kreise zurückführte. Die Unhaltbarkeit seiner Theorie wies sein Recensent Ehrismann im *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, 25, 160 ff. nach. Und nun nennt Euling, die Grenze enger ziehend, epigrammatische Improvisation als Ausgangspunkt des Priamels, gibt ihm also einen wohl uralten, volkstümlichen, unliterarischen Nährboden, auf dem das Priamel, ein Heckenröslein, lange, lange wild und keck blühte, bis Hans Rosenplüt einen Strauch von der Hecke mit allen Wurzeln ausgrub, kunstgerecht veredelte und ihn mit einem lateinischen Namen versehen in den grossen Garten der Literatur setzte. Draussen an der Hecke aber blühte es und blüht es noch heute lustig weiter.

In der allseitigen Beleuchtung und Begründung dieses Gedankens beruht m. E. die Bedeutung der Schrift Eulings, dessen eindringend liebevolles Verständnis für deutsches Kultur- und Literaturleben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert, wie früher in seinem Buch über Kunz Kistener, so auch hier, besonders im zweiten und neunten Kapitel, uns fördert und fesselt; sie wird, was der Titel verheisst, ein wichtiger Beitrag zur Volkspoesie, und gibt dem *klassischen* Priamel einen selbständigen Platz in der deutschen Literaturgeschichte des ausgehenden Mittelalters, wie man ihn beispielsweise schon lange den Ehrenreden der Heroldspoesie zuerkannt hat.

Euling hat auf den 583 Seiten seines Buches einen langen, z. T. noch wenig betretenen Weg durchwandern müssen, den er sich, wie mich bedünkt, freilich öfters noch länger und beschwerlicher gemacht hat, als zur Sache gerade notwendig war. Was Wunder, wenn man dem Buche das Mühevolle der Wanderung ansieht! Erschwert wird seine Lektüre zudem durch die fortwährenden Verweisungen unter den Text; für viele Fälle hätte ein vorausgeschicktes Verzeichnis der benutzten Literatur genügt. Der reiche Stoff ist in neun Kapitel eingegliedert. Es scheint mir zweckdienlich, ihren Gedankengang kurz wiederzugeben und daran einzelne Zweifel und Bemerkungen anderer Art zu knüpfen.

Ausgehend von einer Kritik der bisherigen Definitionen des Priamels von Herder bis auf die neueste Zeit stellt Euling im ersten Kapitel (S. 15) seine eigene z. T. auf Wendeler fussende Definition des *fertigen* Priamels auf, d. h. des klassischen Priamels, wie es sich im XV. Jahrhundert in Nürnberg durch Rosenplüts Kunst ausgebildet hatte. Neben der charakteristischen Stilform—eine Reihe paralleler Einzelheiten werden in bestimmten Formen (den später aufgestellten Typen A—C) mit künstlerischer Absicht zu einer inneren Einheit verbunden—wird darin gleichstarkes Gewicht gelegt auf die Existenz des Priamels als selbständiger literarischer Gattung epigrammatischer Improvisationsdichtung. Der Rest des Kapitels grenzt das so karakterisierte Priamel gegen verwandte Gattungen ab, wie Prosasentenzen, Triaden, Sprichwörter, Rätsel, Quodlibet (mit beachtungswerten Bemerkungen über Hermen Botes *Koker*, S. 33 f.), Schnaderhüpfel u.a. Das zweite Kapitel beschäftigt sich mit dem Namen des Priamels. Euling führt ihn auf einen musikalischen *terminus technicus* zurück, den Rosenplüt bewusst aus dem Musikleben seiner Vaterstadt Nürnberg entlehnte und auf das kleine poetische Gebilde übertrug. Unter Praeambula (Priamel) verstand man zunächst unselbständige zum Gesang überleitende und lange nicht aufgezeichnete Improvisationen auf der Orgel oder Laute, die nach der Erfindung der Lautentabulaturschrift durch die Lautenbücher bald weit verbreitet wurden. Das Ansprechende dieser neuen Hypothese, die auch durch die parallele Entstehung der Sonettbezeichnung gestützt wird (S. 61), lässt sich nicht leugnen und dürfte sich wohl anderen Herleitungen gegenüber (z. B. aus der Fechtkunst, akademischer Disputation, Predigt) behaupten, solange wenigstens als sich die Existenz des Namens auf die Dichtungsgattung bezogen, nicht *vor* Rosenplüt mit Sicherheit nachweisen lässt. Wenn Lautenbücher zur Verbreitung des musikalischen Priamels und damit der Wortbezeichnung viel beitrugen, so waren umgekehrt noch späte Lehrer der holden Lautenkunst dem poetischen Priamel nicht abhold. Johann Stobäus z. B., den wir als tüchtigen Musiker wie als Freund des Königsberger Dichterkreises schätzen, hat die Ränder eines Autographs (nun MS. Sloane 1021 des British Museum), das 1640 geschrieben, Lautenkompositionen, Abhandlungen über die Lautenkunst u. a. enthält, mit Reimsprüchen und Priameln gefüllt, worunter sich auch die 'Krone aller Priamelvierzeiler des Mittelalters' (Euling, S. 408) befindet, halb in alter, halb in Lutherischer Prägung:

Ich leb vnd weis nicht wie lang,
Ich sterb vnd weis nicht wan,
Ich fahr vnd weis Gott Lob wohin:
Mich wundert das ich so trawrig bin[1].

Kapitel III handelt von der Überlieferung des Priamels. Vollständigkeit wird sich erst anstreben lassen, wenn das grosse, auf Beschreibung aller deutschen Handschriften bis zum XVII. Jahrhundert gerichtete Unternehmen der Berliner Akademie vollendet ist. Handschriften vom XV. Jahrhundert ab, Drucke des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts, Stammbücher werden als Fundstätten des klassischen Priamels genannt und die ersteren recht hübsch eingeteilt in (*a*) Priamelbüchlein der umherziehenden Sprecher, (*b*) Liebhabersammlungen, (*c*) Lesebücher, (*d*) grosse Sammelhandschriften. Neben dieser literarischen Überlieferung geht die mündliche einher, d. h. die Fortpflanzung des volkstümlichen Priamels, mit dem der Einzelne nach Gutdünken schaltet. Gute Bemerkungen über das Verhältnis von Volks- und Kunstdichtung schliessen das Kapitel. Ob das Priamel als selbständige literarische Gattung in der Weltliteratur zu Hause sei? das ist die Frage, deren

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[1] Zum Motiv vgl. (was Euling nicht anführt):

$$\left.\begin{array}{l}\text{vivo}\\ \text{morior}\\ \text{ambulo}\end{array}\right\}\ \text{et nescio}\ \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{quomodo}\\ \text{quando}\\ \text{quo}\end{array}\right.$$

(MS. Arundel 243 vom Jahre 1476; vgl. Priebsch, *Deutsche Handschriften in England*, II, 45), und:

Si quis sentiret quo tendit et unde veniret,
Numquam gauderet sed in omni tempore fleret.
(MS. Sloane 1888, XIV. Jh.)

Beantwortung Kapitel IV gewidmet ist. Die Vergleicher waren allzu rasch bereit, auf Grund äusserer Ähnlichkeiten (Stilformen wie der Aufzählung, der Anapher, des Parallelismus, der Klimax) das Vorhandensein des Priamels zu bejahen. Euling hatte es nicht schwer, den von Bergmann aufgebauten Roman von der indischen Abkunft des Priamels zu zerstören und Wackernagels Behauptung, wir hätten das Priamel gemeinsam mit der Sanskritpoesie, zu widerlegen. Nach Durchmusterung ausländischen Materials (insbesonders wird die finnische Poesie herbeigezogen) kommt Euling zu dem Resultate (S. 140): das Nürnberger Priamel (d. h. das klassische Priamel Hans Rosenplüts) scheidet sich deutlich von den künstlicheren romanischen Formen des Mittelalters, es ist weder orientalischer Abkunft, noch den Indogermanen gemeinsam, ja selbst der Versuch R. M. Meyers ein urgermanisches Priamel zu erweisen, ist als gescheitert zu betrachten, denn blosse priamelhaften Formen altgermanischer Poesie konstituieren noch keine eigene Dichtungsgattung; erst in der deutschen Literatur findet sich das Priamel als solche und auch da hat es sich erst allmählich entwickelt. Diese scharfe Scheidung zwischen literarischer Gattung und blosser Stilform muss man sich bei der Lektüre von Eulings Buch stets vor Augen halten; auf ihr baut es sich auf.

Nachdem Euling im fünften Kapitel sich kurz mit einigen Theorien zur Entstehung des Priamels auseinandergesetzt und ausführlicher die Ansicht R. M. Meyers (siehe jetzt auch dessen *Stilistik*, S. 39) die altgermanische Figur der Häufung hätte das Priamel zur Blüte gebracht, zurückgewiesen hat, nennt er am Schluss des Kapitels als Wurzel der primitiven Volkskunst des Priamels Improvisation. Das führt ihn im sechsten, sehr umfangreichen Kapitel zur Karakterisierung des *Vierzeilers* als der Hauptform volkstümlicher Improvisation; er ist uralt, international und noch bis heute die eigentliche volksmässige Priamelform (S. 186). Hier kommt seine Unterart, der epigrammatische Improvisationsvierzeiler, besonders in Betracht, den im Süden Deutschlands eine stärkere lyrische Grundstimmung, im Norden das Vorherrschen schwerfälligen Ernsts und Pedanterie auszeichnet. Eine Fülle von Bezeichnungen—'Schnaderhüpfel' ist darunter wohl die gangbarste—werden S. 200 aufgezählt; sie zeigen seine Beliebtheit und Verbreitung.

Aus diesem Vierzeiler hebt sich durch seine specifische Form der priamelhafte Vierzeiler heraus. Wiederholung und Parallelismus, Hauptformen der volkstümlichen Improvisationsdichtung sind die Mittel, mit denen er arbeitet; mit der volkstümlichen Kunst im allgemeinen teilt er Beschränkung auf *einen* Gedanken. In drei Typen lassen sich alle Priamelvierzeiler einordnen: den Typus des synthetischen Priamels (A) und der Klimax (B), beide mit steigender Gedankenbewegung, und (C), den fallenden Typus des analytischen Priamels, genau betrachtet, der Umkehrung von A. Diese Typen sind nichts neues, schon Bergmann und Wendeler hatten sich ergänzend sie aufgestellt (vgl. Uhl, *Die deutsche Priamel*, S. 116), aber trotzdem litt die Forschung bis in die neueste Zeit an der Hintansetzung von C, was entweder zu enge Definitionen oder abzulehnende Herleitungen der Bezeichung 'Priamel' ergab (siehe Euling, S. 10, 58). So ist es ein Verdienst Eulings, nachdrücklich auf diese Form hingewiesen zu haben. Aber wenn er S. 209 A und B im Grunde identisch nennt (S. 223 spricht er freilich nur von dem verwandten Typus B), wenn er weiters S. 233 von der oft schwierigen Unterscheidung der Typen A und B redet, so wundert man sich billig, warum er sich nicht an dem synthetischen und analytischen Typus genügen liess und sein B etwa als Unterart von A mit A2 bezeichnete. Mir allerdings erscheinen bei Betrachtung der S. 212 und S. 226 gegebenen Schemata die beiden Typen durchaus nicht identisch. Das karakteristische von A ist die Zusammenfassung in der letzten Zeile (daran ändern die Bemerkungen Eulings S. 224 f. nichts), bei B aber fehlt diese, indem an ihre Stelle ein neues, im Verhältnis zu den voraufgehenden steigerndes oder gegensätzliches Glied tritt. Freilich, ob eine solche Steigerung vorhanden ist oder nicht, scheint öfters subjektivem Ermessen anheimzufallen; so kann ich in dem als Schema gewählten Beispiel[1] (S. 226), das doch in dieser Hinsicht besonders karakteristisch sein müsste, schlechterdings nur parallele Aufzählung erkennen, deren einzelne Glieder mit demselben Effekt beliebig vertauscht werden könnten. Ebensowenig vermag ich den Typus B an einzelnen anderen hier zusammengestellten Beispielen zu finden (man vgl. z. B. S. 229 die aus Oberbayern und Böhmen). Gleiches gilt von Beispielen für die Typen A und C und gelegentlich von später beigebrachtem Material. Es will mir daher scheinen, dass Euling in dem löblichen Eifer reichlichen Stoff zusammenzutragen, öfters über das von ihm selbst gesteckte, strenge Ziel hinausgeschossen ist, während er an anderen Stellen (z. B. S. 427) fast wieder zu enthaltsam wird. Nachdem Euling noch einen Blick geworfen hat auf das Vorkommen des Priamelvierzeilers in unliterarischen, volkstümlichen Gattungen der Poesie, d. h. im Arbeitslied, Rätsel, Kinder- und Volksreim, Zauberspruch und Segen—hier interessiert uns besonders die Beobachtung S. 252, dass es immer das Kernstück, der eigentliche Heilspruch ist, welcher priamelhaften Bau zeigt—verfolgt er das Leben des deutschen Priamelvierzeilers bis ins XVI. Jahrhundert, wobei natürlich die reichlicheren Niederschläge des XV. Jahrhunderts, selbstverständlich auch der mnd. und verwandten mnl. Überlieferung, zu Rate gezogen werden. Ein paar Stellen aus Otfrid, eine aus Notkers Psalmenübersetzung, der Spruch des XII. Jahrhunderts (MSD^3, XLIX, 2), je eine Stelle in Heinrichs von Melk *Erinnerung* und bei Wernher von Elmendorf: das sind sämtliche, im einzelnen nicht einwandfreie Zeugen aus älterer Zeit. Doch aus dem Umstande, dass in Freidanks *Bescheidenheit* einige ganz vollendete Priamelvierzeiler auftreten, und dass ferner mnl. Überlieferung mit der deutschen eine Fülle von Motiven gemeinsam hat, was auf älteren gemeinsamen Besitz deuten möchte, schliesst Euling schon für das XII. Jahrhundert auf einen ziemlich beträchtlichen Schatz gut geprägter Priamelmotive. Möglich ist das ja, aber zwingendes wohnt dem Schluss nicht inne. Warum sollen sich Freidanks priamelhafte Vierzeiler nur unter dieser Annahme erklären lassen? Aus der Reihe der Glieder, die zum Beweis alter Gemeinsamkeit des in ihnen enthaltenen Motivs S. 274 aufgeführt werden, scheidet der S. 317 abgedruckte englische Vierzeiler sicher aus: seine Schlusszeile 'never agree in one' lässt handgreiflich die blosse Übersetzung aus dem mnl. 'komen zelden over een' erkennen. Auch die S. 276—77 angeführten Ausweichungen des voraufgehenden, aus dem Hochdeutschen übersetzten mnl. Vierzeilers beweisen nichts für ein altes gemeinsames Motiv; sie erklären sich aus dem von Euling selbst S. 73 erörterten 'Herrenverhältnis' des Volkes zum gegebenen Stoff. Ähnlich erkläre ich mir die S. 275 angezogenen hd. und mnl. Fassungen. Wie priamelhafte Reimpaare wandern können, habe ich *Zeitschr. f. deut. Phil.*, 38, 304 an einem Beispiele zu zeigen versucht. Vorsicht ist hier also jedesfalls geboten. Sichereren Boden, wie gesagt, gewinnt Euling bei Freidank (S. 285—98), dann schält er—ein vielleicht nicht ganz unbedenkliches Verfahren—einige Vierzeiler aus künstlicheren Strophensystemen Spervogels heraus, endlich bringt er mehr oder weniger sicheres Material aus dem *Cato*, aus Tischzuchten, Thomasin von Circelaria, Konrads von Haslau *Spiegel der Tugend*, also durchweg aus gnomisch-didaktischer Dichtung. Der spätere Minnesang, ebenso die höfische Epik sind ertragslos; um so reichlicher fliesst der Brunnen wieder bei dem Didaktiker Hugo von Trimberg, S. 301—14: volkstümliche Vierzeiler, die sich eben deshalb Jahrhunderte lang fortgeerbt haben, aber noch reichlicher solche mit allgemein moralisierendem oder geistlich-gelehrtem Inhalt durchziehen seinen *Renner*. Im XIV. Jahrhundert entstehen im Süden die sogenannten unechten Freidankverse, zugleich springt Hand in Hand mit der starken religiösen Bewegung des Jahrhunderts, gefördert durch die Bettelmönche u. a. eine geistlich theologische Überlieferung auf, die den priamelhaften Vierzeiler inhaltlich vertieft, während der stets daneben einhergehende volkstümlich sich häufig zur Ädöologie neigt, aber auch das Genrebild (S. 339) schafft und öfters zu Inschriften verwendet wird. Sebastian Brant und sein Interpolator schliessen für Oberdeutschland ab; Mitteldeutschland und der Niederrhein spenden wenig, um so mehr die Niederlande und Niederdeutschland (S. 358—87); zu den S. 358 angeführten Quellen möge man MS. II 144 der kgl. Bibliothek in Brüssel hinzufügen (*Zeitschr. f. d. Phil.* 38, 39). Aufmerksam sei endlich in diesem Kapitel noch gemacht auf die Bemerkungen über den Einfluss der Städtekultur auf die vierzeilige Priamelimprovisation, die sie geistreicher zugleich aber auch salziger machte, und auf die von Euling aufgezeigte Existenz des Priamelvierzeilers im Fastnachtsspiel, wo ihn auch Rosenplüt handhabt.

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[1] Alte leute krauen sich,
zornige leute hauen sich,
weise leute besinnen sich:
junge leute minnen sich.

Das siebente Kapitel bespricht längere 'priamelhafte Reimpaare,' die sich z. T. durch Erweiterung vom Vierzeiler aus entwickelten. Wunsch und Gruss (S. 422 f.) bedienen sich ihrer mit Vorliebe. Freidank, der deutsche Bearbeiter der *Sermones nulli parcentes*, sowie Hugo von

Trimberg sind die besten Zeugen für diese Form; die mnl. Überlieferung verfährt hier selbständig. Dass man beim Minne- und Meistergesang von dem Priamel als selbständiger Dichtungsgattung nicht reden könne, ist nach Durchmusterung der einschlägigen Spruchdichtung das Resultat des achten Kapitels. Damit ist der Übergang gegeben auf Hans Rosenplüt, den 'Klassiker' des Priamels, der es zur literarischen Gattung erhob. Das neunte Kapitel ist ihm vollständig gewidmet. Eine treffliche Karakterisierung des mittelalterlichen Nürnbergs steht voran, eine feinsinnige Hervorhebung solcher Züge in Rosenplüts Karakter, die seine Hinneigung zur Priameldichtung erklären, schliesst sich an; dann eine Untersuchung der Stoffe und Motive: Rosenplüt hängt stark von der kirchlichen Volksliteratur ab, in der auch die Wurzeln des geistlichen Priamels liegen; dessen Vater ist also Rosenplüt nicht, wie man gewöhnlich annahm. Populäre Medicin gewährt ihm Priamelstoff, auch Schwankerzählungen halten als Quellen her, aber die Hauptgrundlage für Rosenplüts weltliche Priamel ist doch die ältere Gnomik und Stegreifdichtung; was er daraus zu gestalten vermag, zeigt etwa der priamelhafte Spruch vom Pfennig; mit Recht werden S. 557 die Handwerkspriamel besonders hervorgehoben. Weiters beschäftigt Euling die Form des Rosenplütschen Priamels (S. 566 fgg.); Umfang (8—14 Verse das häufigste Ausmass), die Typenwahl, Sorgfalt, womit der Schluss von ihm behandelt wird. Mit einem gedrängten vorläufigen Ausblick auf die Wirkung, die seine Priamelpoesie auf die spätere Literatur ausgeübt hat und in einer warmempfundenen *commendatio* dieser Kleinkunst Rosenplüts klingen Kapitel und Buch aus. Wir dürfen mit Interesse dem zweiten Bande entgegensehen, der die Geschichte des Priamels zu Ende führen wird. Hoffentlich wird ihm auch ein Gesammtregister nicht fehlen.

R. PRIEBSCH.

Goethe en France. Étude de littérature comparée. Par F. BALDENSPERGER. Paris: Hachette, 1904. 8vo. 392 pp.

Bibliographie critique de Goethe en France. Par F. BALDENSPERGER. Paris: Hachette, 1907. 8vo. ix + 251 pp.

With the publication of the promised bibliography Professor Baldensperger has completed his study of 'Goethe en France.' A second reading of the work with the bibliographical volume at hand for reference, has not merely corroborated the impression that we have here a contribution to the history of Goethe's influence outside Germany which it will not be easy to surpass, but has also convinced me of the value of the book as an object-lesson in that branch or method of literary study of which Professor Baldensperger is so able an exponent, 'la littérature comparée.' The importance of his treatment of the subject will be understood if his work is compared with the majority of similar studies published during recent years. A critic schooled in strictly 'scientific' methods of literary research—and the comparative

student is usually inspired by scientific motives—would probably, in discussing a subject of this kind, have proceeded differently; instead of publishing his bibliography three years after the work itself, he would have begun by laying down the bibliographical foundation, and would then have conscientiously proceeded to build upon it. But M. Baldensperger has realised that if 'comparative literature' is to justify itself, it must do so, not merely as a science, but also as an art. The 'morphological' method might have given us a more methodically arranged bibliography—although with the very excellent indices to both volumes this is of small account—but it would have certainly resulted in a much less readable, less vital book than M. Baldensperger has produced. In other words, we have here, not merely materials for a comparative history of a field of literature—and what passes as comparative literature at present is usually little more than such materials—but also that history itself. With an artist's instinct for arranging and grouping, for relief and shadow, M. Baldensperger has marshalled his facts and brought them into an order that is something better than scientific, while the disadvantages of occasional overlapping and repetition are unimportant. The work is divided into four parts, 'L'Auteur de *Werther*,' 'Le Poète dramatique et lyrique,' 'Science et Fiction,' 'La Personnalité de Goethe,' and each of these parts is made up of four chapters. The great mass of facts pertaining to Goethe's influence in France, which at a first glance, seem so hopelessly confusing, have here segregated naturally and symmetrically round certain centres; at the same time, the author has not violated to any appreciable degree, the principle of chronological development. It is in this rare combination of scholarly thoroughness and artistic skill and taste that the value of M. Baldensperger's treatise as a lesson in method seems to me to lie.

There is no ambiguity in the title of the book, for Goethe's two sojourns on French soil precluded any real contact with France itself. Strassburg was, as far as Goethe was concerned, a German city, and at Longwy in 1792, Goethe was one of an invading army. Indeed, it is strange—and to the literary generation that came after Goethe it was wellnigh incredible—that this most cosmopolitan of poets should never have seen, and never have manifested much desire to see Paris.

From the 'comparative' point of view, no work of Goethe's was so important as *Werther*. Goethe began in France as the 'auteur de *Werther*' and he remained the 'auteur de *Werther*' until his life was nearly over. The chapters of this study dealing with *Werther* and its influence in France seem to me particularly admirable. The history of that novel is traced with a sure hand from the earliest translations to Chateaubriand, and through Chateaubriand to Sénancour. I would note especially the excellent comparison of *Werther* and *René*. These chapters are so full of new points of view and suggestive ideas that they whet one's appetite for that history of the Emigrant literature on which M. Baldensperger is at present engaged. Particularly skilful is his distinction of the peculiarly Wertherian influence from the main current of pre-revolutionary thought in France, which came down from Rousseau, and had itself been, in the first instance, responsible for *Werther*. One of the most instructive aspects of M. Baldensperger's book—and it is very noticeable in his discussion of *Werther*—is its conformity to the wise reflection which is stated in the preface: 'Il est bien certain qu'une époque littéraire, lorsqu'elle découvre et qu'elle annexe des idées ou des formes exotiques, ne goûte et ne retient vraiment que les éléments dont elle porte, par suite de sa propre évolution organique, l'intuition et le désir en elle-même. Les influences étrangères, à qui l'on fait une gloire ou un crime, suivant les points de vue, de "libérer" ou de "dévoyer" une littérature, n'agissent jamais que dans une direction conforme aux tendances de celle-ci. Elles nous informent de nous, et, selon le mot de Pascal, "elles nous font part de notre bien." Il en est en effet de ces actions intellectuelles comme des destinées morales des individus, où l'on donne des conseils, mais où l'on n'inspire point de conduite.'

We are warned against the temptation of confusing the drama of 1830 with that of Goethe, or of attributing too much to the stimulus of the latter; we see how easy it is to exaggerate the influence of Goethe's lyric on French poetry. M. Baldensperger lays emphasis on the strange grotesque quality which the French extracted from *Faust*, and one is inclined at times to wonder how far Retzsch's famous *Outlines* may have been responsible for the distorted reflection of Goethe's work in the French art of the thirties. It is characteristic at least for the psychology of French romanticism and its attitude towards the German romantic spirit, that it should have shown so marked a predilection for the bizarre, the theatrical and the tinselly in what it borrowed from across the Rhine. And this is particularly evident in the French interpretations of *Faust*, from Gérard de Nerval's translation, which Goethe himself approved of, to Ary Scheffer's Gretchen, who, more sentimental than naive, had, as Heine said, 'read all Friedrich Schiller,' and Gounod's opera. In other words, the French romantic mind was incapable of grasping just this naive element in Goethe's work; of all that generation, George Sand was perhaps the only one who came within measurable distance of understanding it. This, too, affords the natural explanation of Hoffmann's enormous popularity in France; for Hoffmann was exactly what, according to the French point of view, the German romanticist ought to have been, and so rarely was. Needless to say, Goethe was but ill-adapted to fit this Hoffmannesque standard which the French set up for German literature, and M. Baldensperger sums up the relationship of Goethe to the Romanticists in the words: 'Leur imitation a été presque toute de surface; ou plutôt ils ont distingué, dans l'œuvre du poète allemand, les aspects les plus analogues à leurs propres ambitions, et, faisant abstraction du reste, ils ont revendiqué l'auteur comme un allié' (p. 169). Again, in the chapter on 'Le Lendemain du Romantisme' he suggests an interesting comparison of *Wilhelm Meister*—a novel from which the romanticists were unable to draw any real or lasting profit—with *L'Éducation sentimentale*, and the still modern *Wahlverwandtschaften* with the psychological processes in which the younger Dumas delighted, or, in our own time, M. Bourget. Perhaps M. Baldensperger is right in concluding that the ideals of the 'roman d'éducation' in Germany and France were too essentially different to allow us to carry such comparisons very far, but I am inclined to think there is more room than he will admit for a plea for the solidarity of the European—or, at least, of the continental—novel in the nineteenth century.

In recommending this book to English readers as the most important contribution to Goethe literature that has come from France in recent years, I cannot help expressing the hope that some day a similar task will be attempted for Goethe in England. It is true, the influence of Goethe in England shrivels up into a very trifling affair compared with the full record of this volume; but on one point M. Baldensperger throws light that is of value to us, namely, on the mediating rôle of France. Victor Hugo, in an eloquent passage at the close of his *Histoire d'un Crime*, compared Paris to the central focus where the rays of coloured light from various lands met and crossed; and despite Björnson's recent taunt that Paris had surrounded herself with a Chinese wall against the best thought of the Germanic peoples, France still remains, in great measure, the intellectual mediator between Germany and the rest of Europe. One need only, for instance, look up Gerhart Hauptmann in our chief English handbook of contemporary biography to find that that writer is the author of, amongst other dramas, *Les Tisserands* and *Les Âmes solitaires!* The future investigator of Goethe in England will, if I am not mistaken, discover that a very great deal of what we have thought and written about Goethe during the last hundred years—from that eventful moment when Carlyle first lighted on Madame de Staël's *De l'Allemagne*, to Matthew Arnold—has been stimulated and coloured by the active interest of France in Goethe which M. Baldensperger here chronicles.

J. G. Robertson.

MINOR NOTICES.

With all their faults of style and imperfections—from a modern standpoint—of critical method, the lectures of Francesco De Sanctis on Petrarch (*Saggio critico sul Petrarca* di Francesco De Sanctis. Nuova edizione a cura di Benedetto Croce. Naples, A. Morano. 1907) delivered fifty years ago, retain their value and their exceptional interest. Indeed, this study of Petrarch, which represents a brilliant and successful effort on the part of the exile of '58 to inspire an unsympathetic audience with a true and just appreciation of Italy's second great poet, is in itself in some sense a classic. Based on the conviction that 'il base dell' arte...è il vivente, la vita nella sua integrità,' this criticism is itself extraordinarily alive, candid to a degree in pointing out the faults and littlenesses of its subject, enthusiastic in its appreciation of his merits and his greatness. Often, perhaps, mistaken (though not so often as even Carducci supposed), it is never superficial and never commonplace. No one can read it without gain. The present edition is exceedingly well edited by an ardent and judicious disciple of De Sanctis, who has handled its blemishes tenderly and well, and supplemented its criticism, where necessary, by footnotes. His preface and the author's *Postilla* and *Appendice* to the second edition of 1883 (the first appeared in 1869), are full of interesting matter, and afford a glimpse of the development of a mind of no common order. The volume forms the third in a collected edition of De Sanctis' works. It is marred by few printer's errors, and the type, though not of the best, is fairly clear.

L. R.

Two of the three chapters which make up Professor C. Alphonso Smith's *Studies in English Syntax* (Boston, Ginn and Co. 1907), are founded on articles contributed to the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* and *Modern Language Notes*; the third chapter is new. The influence of Jespersen is traceable in these studies, but Professor Smith's attitude and results are his own. Indeed, this suggestive little book has a value out of all proportion to its size, and it cannot be neglected by serious students of the English language. We have noticed two unimportant slips: the examples from *Antony and Cleopatra* on pages 38—9 are doubtful, the inflexion in 'kindly,' 'sickly' not being clearly adverbial; and 'go' on page 21 is twice misprinted for 'grow.' We would urge, too, with deference that Jespersen's explanation of case-shifting in the personal pronouns has been rejected too sweepingly: at any rate, a contributory influence of phonetic similarity in the *e*-forms cannot, we think, be denied. Cf. the instances from Malory cited in Jespersen's *Progress in Language* (1894), p. 248.

J. H. G. G.

The Development of Standard English Speech in Outline, by J. M. Hart (New York, H. Holt and Co., 1907), claims to be 'merely an attempt to show how the Englishman and American of to-day has come by his pronunciation.' The author is certainly in advance of some of his English contemporaries in starting from Mercian, rather than from West Saxon forms; but we cannot say much more in favour of his book. It is too technical for the general reader, and too sketchy and inaccurate for the student of language. The changes of pronunciation since Chaucer are either passed over lightly or 'explained' by a little pseudo-phonetics. We trust that 'as a whole, the book may' not 'be said to represent Cornell aim and method.'

J. H. G. G.

We have received the *Festschrift zur* 49. *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Basel im Jahre* 1907 (Basel, E. Birkhäuser; Leipzig, C. Beck, 1907). Of its contents we note the following items as of interest to the readers of this *Review:* A. Barth, *Le fabliau du Buffet*; G. Binz, *Untersuchungen zum altenglischen sogenannten Crist*; W. Bruckner, *Über den Barditus*; Ch. de Roche, *Une Source des Tragiques*; A. Gessler, *Franz Krutters Bernauerdrama*; E. Hoffmann-Krayer, *Ferndissimilation von r und l im Deutschen*; J. Meier, *Wolfram von Eschenbach und einige seiner Zeitgenossen*; A. Rossat, *La Poésie religieuse patoise dans le Jura bernois catholique*; E. Tappolet. *Zur Agglutination in den französischen Mundarten.*

The 'Kisfaludy-Tárrsaság,' one of the most prominent literary societies in Hungary, has appointed a 'Shakespeare Committee,' presided over by Albert de Berzeviczy, formerly Minister of Public Instruction and now President of the Academy of Sciences. The object of this Committee is to revise the already existing translation of Shakespeare's works, and to publish a periodical of the nature of the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch.* A bibliography of Hungarian Shakespeare literature is in course of preparation.

A. B. Y.

The second volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature, The End of the Middle Ages,* will be published in the spring. It will deal with *Piers Plowman* (by Professor J. M. Manly of Chicago), Richard Rolle, Wyclif and the minor poetry and prose of their period not already dealt with in volume I; Gower, Chaucer and the Chaucerian school; the beginnings of English prose; and those of Scots literature (Huchoun, Barbour, James I, Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas); the work of the Westminster Press, etc.

We are glad to learn that Messrs Chatto and Windus have arranged to publish in this country the handy and inexpensive *Bibliotheca Romanica,* which we have already recommended to the attention of students of Romance languages. The list of recent additions will be found under New Publications. In preparation are Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*; Camões, *Os Lusiades,* V—VII; and Molière *L'Avare.*

A 'Società di Filologia Moderna' has been formed in Italy with a view to the publication, in the first instance, of a new quarterly journal, *Studi di Filologia Moderna.* The provisional Committee includes the well-known names of Benedetto Croce, Cesare De Lollis, Arturo Farinelli, Guido Manacorda and Paolo Savj-Lopez. Professor Manacorda (Catania, Via Caronda, 270) is secretary and the annual subscription is, for ordinary members, 15 L., for foreign members, 20 L.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1907.

GENERAL.

ARNOLD, R. F., Das moderne Drama. Strassburg, Trübner. 6 M.

BALDENSPERGER, F., Études d'histoire littéraire. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

ELTON, O., Modern Studies. London, Arnold. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

HEINZEL, L., Kleine Schriften. Hrsg. von M. H. Jellinek und C. von Kraus. Heidelberg, Winter. 12 M.

KIPKA, K., Maria Stuart im Drama der Weltliteratur. (Breslauer Beiträge, IX.) Leipzig, Hesse. 10 M. 80.

KRALIK, K. VON, Die Gralsage. Gesammelt, erneuert und erläutert. Ravensburg, Alber. 4 M.

MATTHEWS, B., Inquiries and Opinions. New York, Scribner. 1 dol. 25.

SAINTSBURY, G., The Later Nineteenth Century. (Periods of European Literature.) Edinburgh, Blackwood. 5*s.* net.

TRAVER, H., The Four Daughters of God. A Study of the Versions of this Allegory, with especial reference to those in Latin, French and English. (Diss.) Philadelphia, J. C. Winston.

WOODBERRY, G. E., The Appreciation of Literature. New York, Baker & Taylor. 1 dol. 50. net.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

AUBRY, P., La Rhythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères, avec musique notée. Paris, Champion. 3 fr. 50.

Bibliotheca romanica. 32—34, Prévost, Manon Lescaut ; 35, 36, F. Villon, Œuvres ; 37—39, G. de Castro, Obras. Las Mocedades del Cid I, II. ; 40, Dante, La vita nova. Strassburg, Heitz. Each number, 40 Pf.

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie. Beihefte. XI. A. Neumann-Ritter von Spallart, Weitere Beiträge zur Charakteristik des Dialektes der Marche. 3 M. XII. M. L. Wagner, Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten. 6 M. XIII. F. Ewald, Die Schreibweise in der autographischen Handschrift des 'Canzoniere' Petrarcas. (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3195.) 2 M. 60. Halle, Niemeyer.

Latin.

LEHMANN, P., Franciscus Modius als Handschriftenforscher. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Phil. des Mittelalters, III, 1.) Munich, Beck. 7 M.

PASCAL, C., Poesia latina medievale : Saggi e note critiche. Catania, Battiato. 3 L.

TRAUBE, L., Nomina sacra. (Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Phil. des Mittelalters, II.) Munich, Beck. 15 M.

Italian.

Baldini, M., Il teatro di G. B. Niccolini. Studio critico-estetico. Florence, Tip. Galileiana. 6 L.

Belluzzi, G. B. (Il sammarino), Diario autobiografico (1535–41), edito dall' autobiografo per cura di P. Egidi. Naples, Ricciardi. 6 L.

Boiardo, M. M., Orlando Innamorato, riscontrato sul codice trivulziano e su le prime stampe da F. Foffano. Vol. iii. Bologna, Romagnoli-Dall' Acqua. 6 L.

Boutet, A., La Critica letteraria di R. Bonghi. Turin, Paravia. 1 L. 50.

Cesareo, G. A., Critica militante. Messina, Trimarchi. 3 L. 50.

Copelli, T., Il Teatro di S. Maffei con lettere e documenti inediti. Parma, Battei. 4 L.

Croce, B., Letteratura e critica della letteratura contemporanea in Italia. Bari, Laterza. 1 L. 50.

Dante. In the Footprints of Dante. A Treasury of Verse and Prose from the Works of Dante. Compiled by P. Toynbee. London, Methuen. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Fatini, G., Agnolo Firenzuola e la borghesia letterata del Rinascimento. Cortona, Tip. sociale. 3 L.

Gardner, E. G., Saint Catherine of Siena. A Study in the Religion, Literature and History of the Fourteenth Century in Italy. London, Dent. 16*s.* net.

Garlanda, F., Il verso di Dante. Rome, Soc. Tip. Laziale. 5 L.

Goldoni, C., Memorie riprodotte integralmente dalla edizione originale francese (1787). Con prefazione e note di G. Mazzoni. 2 vol. Florence, Barbèra. 7 L.

Lee, V., Studies of the Eighteenth Century in Italy. 2nd ed. London, F. Unwin. 21*s.* net.

Moneti, C., La canzonetta. Sue origini ; relazioni con gli anacreontici stranieri. La canzonetta del Chiabrera e del Rinuccini. Rome, Tip. Artigianelli S. Giuseppe. 2 L. 50.

Monti, V., Poesie, scelte, illustrate e commentate da A. Bertoldi. Nuova ediz. Florence, Sansoni. 2 L. 50.

Pertusio, M., La vita e gli scritti di G. Ruffini. Genoa, Libreria nuova. 2 L.

Turri, V., Dante. (Collezione Pantheon.) Florence, Barbèra. 2 L.

Valente, M., Victor Hugo e la lirica italiana. Turin, Paravia. 2 L. 50.

Vossler, K., Die göttliche Komödie. Entwicklungsgeschichte und Erklärung. i. Bd., 2. Teil, Ethisch-politische Entwicklungsgeschichte. Heidelberg, Winter. 5 M.

Spanish.

Biblioteca de Autores Españoles. Orígenes de la Novela. Tomo ii. Novelas de los siglos xv y xvi, con un estudio preliminar de M. Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid, Bailly-Baillière. 12 pes.

Cervantes Saavedra, M. de, El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quijote de la Mancha. Primera edición crítica por C. Cortejón. Tomo i. iii. Barcelona, 'La Académica.'

Getino, L. G. A., Vida y proceso del Maestro Fr. Luis de León. Salamanca, Calatrava. 5 pes.

Marti Grajales, F., Cancionero de los Nocturnos de Valencia, extractado de sus actás originales por P. Salvá. 3 tomos. Valencia, Vives y Mora. 45 pes.

Menéndez Pidal, R., Leyendas del último rey godo. Notas é investigaciones. Madrid, Revista de Archivos. 5 pes.

Mercader, G., El Prado de Valencia. Édition critique, avec une introduction, des notes, et un appendice. Par H. Mérimée. Toulouse, Privat. 5 fr.

Quevedo Villegas, F., Obras completas. Edición crítica. 3 tomos. Sevilla, Imp. de F. de P. Diaz.

Romances populares de Castilla, recogidos por N. A. A. Cortés. Valladolid. 5 pes.

Rosanes de Larrea, A., Elementos de gramática castellana. Oviedo.

Salas Barbadillo, A. J. de, Obras. Tomo i. Ed. E. Cotarelo y Mori. (Collección de Escritores Castellanos, tomo cxxviii.) Madrid, Murillo. 5 pes.

Sicars y Salvadó, N., D. Manuel Tamayo y Baus. Estudio crítico-biográfico. Barcelona, L'Avenç. 3 pes.

Vergara y Martín, G. M., Refranes y cantares geográficos de España. Madrid, Imprenta Ibérica. 5 pes.

Vézinet, F., Les Maîtres du roman espagnol contemporain. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

Zaccaria, E., Bibliografia italo-spagnola ossia edizioni e versioni di opere spagnole e portoghesi fattesi in Italia. Vol. i (edizioni). Bologni, Beltrami. 3 L.

Portuguese.

Nobling, O., As cantigas de D. Joan Garcia de Guilhade, trovador do secolo xiii. Ed. critica com notas e introduccão. Erlangen, Junge. 3 M.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*Language, Dialects*).

Brébion, Étude philologique sur le nord de la France. Paris, Champion. 7 fr. 50.

Faguet, E., A Literary History of France. London, F. Unwin. 12*s.* 6*d.*

La Grasserie, R. de, L'Argot et le parler populaire. Paris, Duragon. 6 fr.

Lucas, St J., The Oxford Book of French Verse. 13th cent. to 19th cent. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 6*s.* net.

Sainéan, L., L'Argot ancien (1455—1850). Paris, Champion. 5 fr.

Thorn, A. C., Étude sur les verbes dénominatifs en français. Lund, Gleerup. 2 kr. 50.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Aron, A., Das hebräisch-altfranzösische Glossar der Leipziger Universitätsbibliothek. (MS. 102.) Leipzig, Kaufmann. 3 M.

Gui von Cambrai, Balaham und Josaphas. Nach den Handschriften von Paris und Monte Cassino. Hrsg. von C. Appel. Halle, Niemeyer. 14 M.

Sir Gawain and the Lady of Lys. Translated by J. L. Weston. (Arthurian Romances.) London, Nutt. 2*s.*

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Bailey, J. C., The Claims of French Poetry. Nine Studies in the Greater French Poets. London, Constable. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

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Huszar, G., Molière et l'Espagne. Paris, Champion 5 fr.

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Nolde, E. de, Mad. de Staël and B. Constant. Unpublished Letters. Translated by C. Harwood. New York, Putnam. 1 dol. 50. net.

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Thieme, H. P., Guide bibliographique de la littérature française de 1800 à 1906. Paris, Welter.

Tilley, A., F. Rabelais. (French Men of Letters, ed. by A. Jessup.) New York, Lippincott. 1 dol. 50. net.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Gothic.

Leyen, F. von der, Einführung in das Gotische. Munich, Beck. 3 M. 20.

Scandinavian.

Bergsöe, V. H. Ibsen paa Ischia. Erindringer fra Aarene 1863—69. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 5 kr.

Brandes, G., Levned. Et Tiaar. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 6 kr. 50.

Dresdner, A., Ibsen als Norweger und Europäer. Jena, Diederichs. 2 M.

Falk, H. S., und A. Torp, Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. Deutsche Bearbeitung von H. Davidsen. 1. Liefg. (Sammlung german. Elementar- und Handbücher, iv. Reihe.) Heidelberg, Winter. 1 M. 50.

Hansen, O., Islandsk Renæssance i Hundredaaret for Jónas Hallgrimssons Födsel. Copenhagen, Pio. 2 kr.

Jónsson, F., Den islandske Litteraturs Historie tilligemed den oldnorske. Copenhagen, Gad. 7 kr.

Kielland, A. L. Breve. Udgivne af hans Sönner. i. Bind. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 3 kr. 75.

Lee, J., The Ibsen Secret. New York, Putnam. 1 dol. 25. net.

Reich, E., H. Ibsens Dramen. 6te Aufl. Dresden, Pierson. 3 M.

Sergel, A., Oehlenschläger in seinen persönlichen Beziehungen zu Goethe, Tieck und Hebbel. Nebst einer Oehlenschläger-Bibliographie. Rostock, Volckmann. 2 M. 80.

Strindberg, A., Werke. Deutsche Gesamtausgabe. iii. Abt. Novellen. 7. Band. Verdeutscht von E. Schering. Munich, G. Müller. 4 M. 50.

Dutch.

Brom, G., Vondels bekering. Amsterdam, E. van der Vecht. 1 fl. 50.

Geyter, J. de, Werke. i.—iii. Antwerp. Each 2 fl. 50.

Leendertz, P., Middel-Nederlandsche dramatische poëzie. 2 ged. (Bibliotheek van middel-nederl. letterkunde.) Leyden, Sijthoff. 9 fl.

Snellen, J., Liederen van Hadewijch, naar de drie bekende hss. Kritisch uitgegeven. Amsterdam.

English.

(*a*) *General* (*Language*).

Cambridge History of English Literature, The. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vol. I. From the Beginnings to the Cycle of Romance. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 9*s.* net.

JONES, D., Phonetic Transcriptions of English Prose. London, Frowde. 2*s.*

WYLD, H. C., The Growth of English. An Elementary Account of the Present Form of our Language and its Development. London, Murray. 3*s.* 6*d.*

(*b*) *Old and Middle English.*

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CORNELIUS, H., Die altenglische Diphthongierung durch Palatale im Spiegel der mittelenglischen Dialekte. (Studien zur engl. Philologie, XXX.) Halle, Niemeyer. 6 M.

FRITSCHE, P., Darstellung der Syntax in dem altenglischen Menologium. (Diss.) Berlin, Ebering. 2 M. 40.

GREIN, C. W. M., and R. P. WÜLKER, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa. V. Band, 2 Abt. Waerferth's von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen. Einleitung von H. Hecht. Hamburg, Grand. 8 M.

Owl and the Nightingale, The. Edited by J. E. Wells. (Belles Lettres Series, Section II.) Boston, Heath. 60 c. net.

ZUPITZA, J., Alt- und mittelenglisches Übungsbuch. 8. Aufl. von J. Schipper. Vienna, Braumüller. 6 M. 80.

(*c*) *Modern English.*

AYNARD, J., La vie d'un poète. Coleridge. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

BAILEY, E. J., The novels of G. Meredith. A study. New York, Scribner. 1 dol. 25. net.

BEAUMONT, F., and J. FLETCHER, Works. Vol. V. Edited by A. R. Waller. (Cambridge English Classics.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

BLAKE, W., Milton. Edited by E. R. D. Maclagan and A. G. B. Russell. London, Bullen. 5*s.* net.

BLEIBTREU, C., Die Lösung der Shakespeare-Frage. Eine neue Theorie. Leipzig, Thomas. 3 M.

BORSA, M. The English Stage of To-day. Translated by S. Brinton. London, Lane. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

BOSWELLSTONE, W. G., Shakespeare's Holinshed. The Chronicle and the Historical Plays compared. New ed. London, Chatto and Windus. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

BREWSTER, W. T., Specimens of Modern English Literary Criticism. New York. Macmillan. 1 dol. net.

BROOKE, S. A., Studies in Poetry. London, Duckworth. 6*s.* net.

CHANDLER, F. W., The Literature of Roguery. 2 vols. (Types of English Literature.) Boston, Houghton, Mifflin. 3 dols. net. (London, Constable. 12*s.* net.)

CHAPMAN, G., All Fools and The Gentleman Usher. Edited by T. M. Parrott. (Belles Lettres Series.) Boston, Heath. 60 c. net. (London, Harrap. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Club Law, a Comedy acted in Clare Hall, Cambridge, about 1599–1600. Edited by G. C. Moore Smith. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 6*s.* net.

COLERIDGE, S. T., The Ancient Mariner und Christabel. Mit literarhistorischer Einleitung und Kommentar von A. Eichler. (Wiener Beiträge zur engl. Phil., XXVI.) Vienna, Braumüller. 5 M.

Drayton, M., Minor Poems. Chosen and edited by C. Brett. (Tudor and Stuart Library.) London, Frowde. 5*s.* net.

Eliot, G., Romola. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by G. Biagi. 2 vols. London, F. Unwin. 10*s.* net.

Fitz-James, R., Sermo die Lune in Ebdomada Pasche. Printed at Westminster by Wynkyn de Worde, about the year 1495. (Fifteenth Century Facsimiles.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 15*s.* net.

Garrick, D., Some Unpublished Correspondence. Edited by G. P. Baker. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 7 dol. 50. net. (London, Constable. 31*s.* 6*d.* net.)

Gascoigne, G., Works. Vol. i. The Posies. Edited by J. W. Cunliffe. (Cambridge English Classics.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 4*s.* 6*d.* net.

Gummere, F. B., The Popular Ballad. (Types of English Literature.) London, Constable. 6*s.* net.

Henderson, M. S., George Meredith, Novelist, Poet, Reformer. London, Methuen. 6*s.*

Jerrold, W., Thomas Hood. His Life and Times. London, Rivers. 16*s.* net.

Joachimi-Dege, M., Deutsche Shakespeare-Probleme im xviii. Jahrh. und im Zeitalter der Romantik. (Untersuchungen zur neueren Sprach- und Literaturgeschichte, xii.) Leipzig, Haessel. 6 M.

Keats, J., Poetical Works. Edited by W. T. Arnold. (Globe Edition.) London, Macmillan. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Laneham, R., Letter describing a part of the Entertainment unto Queen Elizabeth at Kenilworth in 1575. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. London, Chatto and Windus. 5*s.* net.

Lederer, F., Die Ironie in den Tragödien Shaksperes. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 2 M.

Lockwood, L. E., Lexicon to the English Poetical Works of John Milton. London, Macmillan. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

Moryson, Fynes, An Itinerary, containing his Ten Yeeres Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, etc. Vols. i.—ii. Glasgow, Maclehose. 4 vols. 50*s.* net.

Moulton, R. G., Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker. New York, Macmillan. 1 dol. 50.

Payne, W. M., The greater English poets of the Nineteenth Century. New York, Holt. 2 dol. net.

Poe, E. A., Poems. Collected and Edited by E. C. Stedman and G. E. Woodberry. New York, Driffield. 1 dol. net.

Rannie, D. W., Wordsworth and his Circle. London, Methuen. 6*s.* net.

Riedner, W., Spensers Belesenheit. I. Teil. (Münchener Beiträge zur romanischen und englischen Phil., xxxviii.) Leipzig, Deichert. 3 M. 20.

Shakespeare, W., Love's Labors Lost. Edited by F. J. Furnivall. London, Chatto and Windus. 2*s.* 6*d.* net.

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Shakespeare, W., The Tragedy of Anthony and Cleopatra. New Variorum Edition. Edited by H. H. Furness. New York, Lippincott. 4 dol.

Symons, A., William Blake. London, Constable. 10*s.* 6*d.* net.

Wolff, M. J., Shakespeare, der Dichter und sein Werk. ii. Munich, Beck. 5 M.

Woodhull, M., The Epic of Paradise Lost. 12 Essays. London, Putnam. 6*s.* net.

German.

(*a*) *General.*

Kluge, F., Seemannssprache. Wortgeschichtliches Handbuch deutscher Schifferausdrücke älterer und neuerer Zeit. 1 Liefg. Halle, Waisenhaus. 5 M.

Schatz, J., Altbairische Grammatik. Laut- und Flexionslehre (Grammatiken der althochdeutschen Dialekte, i.). Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht. 4 M. 80.

Strömberg, E., Die Ausgleichung des Ablauts im starken Präteritum, mit besonderer Rücksicht auf oberdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler des 15.–16. Jahrhunderts. Göteborg, Wettergren & Kerber. 2 M. 75.

Sütterlin, L., Die deutsche Sprache der Gegenwart. 2te Auflage. Leipzig, Voigtländer. 7 M.

(*b*) *Modern German.*

Alafberg, F., W. H. von Dalberg als Bühnenleiter und als Dramatiker. (Berliner Beiträge zur germ. und roman. Phil., xxxii.) Berlin, Ebering. 4 M. 50.

Arnim, B. von, Geschichten. Herausg. von K. H. Strobl und K. W. Fritsch. Berlin, Fontane. 3 M. 50.

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Burgsdorff, W. von, Briefe. Herausg. von A. F. Cohn. (Deutsche Lit.-Denkm. des 18. und 19. Jahrh., 139.) Berlin, Behr. 3 M. 50.

David, J. J. Gesammelte Werke. Herausg. von E. Heilborn und E. Schmidt (in 6 Bänden). i. Munich, Piper. 6 M.

Delerat, E., Quelques propos sur Goethe. Versailles, L. Bernard. 2 fr. 50.

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RABELAIS AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERY.

II[1].

JACQUES CARTIER.

IN the summer or early autumn of 1545 Rabelais returned to the project which he had announced thirteen years before of conducting Pantagruel on a long sea-voyage. During this interval the interest of Frenchmen in maritime adventure had been sensibly quickened by the discovery of Canada. For it was the achievement of their own countryman, Jacques Cartier, the Breton pilot[2]. On his first voyage (1534), starting from Saint-Malo, he had sailed through the strait of Belle Isle between Newfoundland and Labrador, and had reached, though without being aware of it, the mouth of the St Lawrence. On his second voyage (1535—36), after failing to find a passage to Cathay—for this was the primary object of his expedition—he sailed up the St Lawrence to Stadacone (Quebec) and Hochelaga (Montreal). When he returned to France (July, 1536) the second war with Charles V had broken out, and for the next four years Francis I was diverted from all thoughts of maritime enterprise. It was not till October, 1540, that he commissioned Cartier to organise a fresh expedition on a larger scale, with the object of establishing a French settlement in Canada. A little later, he appointed Jean-François de La Rocque, Seigneur de Roberval, to be lieutenant-general and chief captain of the enterprise. It was Roberval's task to furnish the artillery and the colonists, and as this took a considerable time, Cartier, who had the title of 'captain-general and master-pilot of the ships,' without waiting for his chief, put to sea with five ships on May 23, 1541. He returned in the following year having established and afterwards abandoned a fort at Charlesbourg Royal, a little above Quebec. On his way home he met Roberval in a harbour of Newfoundland, and disobeyed his orders to go back with him to the St Lawrence. Deserted by his subordinate, Roberval applied himself with great energy to the settlement at Charlesbourg Royal, but after a terrible winter's experience Cartier was sent out again to bring him home (June, 1543). They reached France in the following February.

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[1] Continued from Volume II, p. 25.

[2] The most recent work on Cartier is J. P. Baxter, *A Memoir of Jacques Cartier*, New York, 1906. See also Ch. de la Roncière, *Histoire de la marine française*, III, 307—333, Paris, 1906.

The initiative which Francis I had taken in the exploration and colonisation of Canada had stimulated his subjects to a corresponding activity. From 1540 to 1544 fishing-ships from various Norman and Breton ports sailed for Canada every year. In May, 1541, a Spanish spy reported to his government that in addition to Cartier's expedition ships were being fitted out or had already sailed from Dieppe, Harfleur, and Honfleur, from Morlaix, Quimper and Croisic[1]. But in 1545 the interest in Canada began to slacken. Though the third war against the Emperor had been ended by the treaty of Crépy in the preceding September, France was now at war with England, and Jean Ango, the great ship-owner of Dieppe, who had hitherto been the guiding spirit of French maritime exploration, was devoting all his energies and money to the maintenance of the royal navy. However, in the early part of the year, the moment seemed still propitious for the publication of an account of Cartier's discoveries, and on February 28 a privilege was granted to Ponce Roffet and his brother-in-law Antoine Le Clerc for the publication of a book entitled *Brief recit et succincte narration, de la navigation faicte es ysles de Canada, Hochelaga et Saguenay, et autres, avec particulieres meurs, langaige, et cerimonies des habitans d'icelles: fort delectable a veoir*[2]. It is a simple and modest narrative, occupying only forty-eight leaves, of Cartier's second voyage. Probably a printed account of the first voyage appeared about the same time, but no copy of it now exists. Indeed, when Raphael Du Petit Val published an account of this voyage at Rouen in 1598, he had to translate it from a *langue étrangère*. This was the Italian version which Ramusio had included in the third volume of his great collection of voyages (Venice, 1556), and which was probably translated from a printed text. Some forty years ago a MS. which bears evident traces of being Cartier's original account was discovered in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and edited in 1867 by H. Michelant and A. Ramé under the title of *Relation originale du voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada*. Cartier's third voyage and that of Roberval are represented only by fragmentary narratives in Hakluyt's *Voyages*[1].

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[1] Baxter, *op. cit.*, pp. 348 ff.

[2] The only known copy is in the British Museum. Tross discovered a second, but it was lost with the ship which was taking it to America. See H. Harrisse, *Bibliotheca Americana vetustissima*, for a facsimile of the title-page.

It was, as I have said, in the summer or early autumn of 1545 that Rabelais reverted to the idea which he had foreshadowed at the close of the Second Book of making a long sea-voyage the framework of his narrative. We read in chapter xlix of the Third Book that Pantagruel, having agreed to accompany Panurge on a voyage to the 'Oracle of the Bottle,' assembled his followers at the port of Thalasse near Saint-Malo, and there made the necessary preparations[2]. The Third Book was published early in 1546, and in the summer of 1547 Rabelais, who had made a hurried flight to Metz immediately after its publication, began his Fourth Book with an account of the voyage. In the first half of 1548 he published ten chapters with the fragment of an eleventh. In June of the same year we find him at Rome with Jean Du Bellay. He returned to France in July, 1550, and obtained a fresh privilege on August 6. We may therefore assume that at that date his Fourth Book was nearly ready for the press. But it did not appear till January, 1552, and internal evidence points to the fact that the later chapters—xlviii to lxvii—were added during that interval.

In the first chapter we read that Pantagruel put to sea at the Port of Thalasse, and that he was accompanied by 'Xenomanes, the great traveller and traverser of perilous ways, who had been sent for by Panurge and had arrived certain days before.' This is followed in the complete edition of 1552 by the statement that 'Xenomanes had left with Gargantua, and marked out in his great and universal Hydrography the route which they were to take in their visit to the Oracle of the Holy Bottle Bacbuc.' Later on in the chapter we learn that the course of the ships was set by the principal pilot, and in the 1552 edition we are told that the pilot's name was Jamet Brayer. Now, as all students of Rabelais know, M. Lefranc, developing an idea first suggested by M. Margry in his *Navigations françaises*, has adduced several excellent reasons for identifying Jamet Brayer with Jacques Cartier, and Xenomanes with Jean Fonteneau, commonly called Jean Alfonse of Saintonge, who accompanied Roberval to Canada as his pilot. That Xenomanes stands for Jean Alfonse there can I think be no reasonable doubt. We are told in III, xlix that Xenomanes 'had some small holding of the domain of Salmigondin in mesne-fee,' and all the commentators are agreed that Salmigondin stands for Saintonge. We also know that Jean Alfonse before he sailed on his last voyage, on the return from which he was attacked by the Spaniards and mortally wounded in the very port of La Rochelle (1544), had written a *Cosmographie* which was practically an Hydrography, and that it eventually came into the hands of the poet Mellin de Saint-Gelais, who secured it for the Royal Library. Rabelais, who was a friend of Saint-Gelais's, may well have heard of this circumstance. Moreover, the part played by Xenomanes in the voyage, and the air of authority with which he gives advice and explanation is in complete keeping with the reputation of Jean Alfonse as the most experienced French pilot of his day, who had sailed the seas, as he tells us in his *Cosmographie*, for forty-four years, and had explored the coasts of America from the Straits of Magellan in the south to Davis Strait in the north[1].

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[1] For the first voyage Mr Baxter translates the *Relation originale*, for the second a MS. (No. 5589, one of three) in the Bibliothèque Nationale, as he found several errors and omissions in the *Brief recit*, including the omission of two whole chapters (xi and xii). He adds the fragments from Hakluyt.

[2] The privilege for the Third Book is dated September 19, 1545; the concluding chapters were probably written not long before this.

As regards the identification of Jamet Brayer with Jacques Cartier, there is more room for doubt, but M. Lefranc has considerably strengthened the case for it. He points out that Cartier, like Jean Alfonse, had the requisite experience for acting as pilot to Pantagruel on this particular route. He also lays stress on a statement made by one Jacques Doremet, who in a little volume on the antiquities of Saint-Malo, prints the following marginal note opposite a passage dealing with Cartier's discoveries: 'Rabelais vint apprendre de ce Cartier les termes de la marine et du pilotage à Saint-Malo pour en chamarrer ses bouffonnesques Lucianismes et impies épicureismes.' Doremet's book was not printed till 1628, and the writer was not born till from fifteen to twenty years after Rabelais's death. The statement therefore rests on tradition only, and without further support cannot be said to have much authority. But there are certain indications in Rabelais's book of a personal acquaintance with Saint-Malo, where Cartier lived till his death in 1557. In IV, lxvi Panurge, who is generally the mouthpiece of Rabelais's reminiscences, says that he had seen the islands of Sark and Herm between Brittany and England, from which we may reasonably infer that Rabelais visited them from Saint-Malo. Again in III, xxiv Panurge suggests that they should make a voyage to the

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[1] See M. Georges Musset's introduction to his edition of the *Cosmographie* in the *Recueil de Voyages*, vol. xx, 1904.

Ogygian islands which 'are not far from the harbour of Saint Malo.' Lastly we find scattered up and down Rabelais's book various reminiscences of Brittany, shewing that he was acquainted with the country generally. The fact that no name is given to the pilot in the 1548 edition of the Fourth Book leads M. Lefranc to suppose that it was not till after this date that Rabelais became intimate with Cartier[1]. If so, the intimacy cannot have begun till after Rabelais's return from Rome in the summer of 1550. Rabelais had then, it is true, his parish of Meudon to look after, but doubtless his parochial duties were not so exacting that they did not admit of an occasional holiday.

But the question whether Jamet Brayer is Jacques Cartier or not is comparatively unimportant in comparison with the undoubted fact that the influence of Cartier's voyages is plainly to be traced in Rabelais's narrative. In chapter xxx of the Fifth Book Cartier is mentioned without any disguise among the travellers whom Pantagruel and his company encountered in the country of Satin, and in the Fourth Book there are several reminiscences of his first and second voyage. Pantagruel sets sail, as Cartier did, from Saint-Malo. On the fourth day (according to the primitive edition), which was June 12, he meets with a merchant-vessel returning home, and learns that they are Frenchmen from Saintonge and that they came from Lantern-land. This agrees with the account of Cartier's first voyage, where we read that on June 12, off Labrador, 'we perceived a great ship which was from La Rochelle, which had passed the night seeking the harbour of Brest.' For Lantern-land, though it stands for other places as well, certainly stands for La Rochelle, where there was a Tower of the Lantern, besides two towers in the harbour.

In the partial edition of the Fourth Book, the first land at which the travellers touch is the Island of Ennasin (Noseless ones) or Alliances. 'The men and women,' we are told, 'are like the red-faced Poitevins, except that they all...have their nose in the shape of an ace of clubs; ...and all the people were kindred and related to one another[2].' M. Lefranc very ingeniously sees in this people a double reminiscence of Red Indians and Eskimos, the red skin pointing to the former and the abnormally flat nose to the latter. In his First Voyage Cartier, speaking of the inhabitants of Blanc Sablon on the coast of Labrador, says that 'they paint themselves with certain tawny colours.' These, Mr Baxter thinks, belonged to the tribe of the Beothics who inhabited

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[1] *Les navigations de Pantagruel*, pp. 270–1.

[2] IV, ix (iv of 1548 edition).

Newfoundland in Cartier's day, but have since been utterly exterminated. They were probably, he adds, the same people whom John Cabot described as painting themselves with red ochre, and three of whom he brought to England. As for the trait recorded by Rabelais, that 'all the people were related to one another,' it exactly represents the condition of an Indian totem clan. There is, however, nothing either about this peculiarity or about Eskimos in the accounts of Cartier's voyages, so that if Rabelais is here recording actual experiences he must have got his information from oral sources—either from Cartier or, if he had not made his acquaintance when he wrote this chapter, from Jean Alfonse. For Jean Alfonse's home was at La Rochelle, and there seems good ground for suggesting that Rabelais had met him there in the Fontenay-le-Comte days, and he may have met him again during the interval between his return from Canada in the spring of 1543 and his departure on his last voyage in July, 1544.

From the Island of Ennasin the travellers sail to the Island of Cheli[1], and M. Lefranc suggests that there may be 'some relation between King Panigon's reception of the travellers and that of the Canadian chiefs who fill so large a place in the narrative of Cartier's second voyage.' I am prepared to go a step further, and to identify 'the good King Panigon' with Donnacona, the 'Agonhanna' or lord of Canada. For in the complete edition of the Fourth Book he is called 'King Saint Panigon,' and in a curious passage in chapter xxv of the Fifth Book, which only occurs in the MS. of the Bibliothèque Nationale, we are told that 'Panigon in his last days had retired to a hermitage in this Island' (the Island of Odes) 'and lived in great sanctity and the true Catholic Faith.' Now this forcibly reminds one of the fate of Donnacona, who was treacherously captured by Cartier's orders, carried off to France, and baptized at Saint-Malo, and who died in 'the true Catholic Faith' just before Cartier started on his third voyage in 1540[2]. This resemblance between Donnacona and Panigon leads one the more readily to accept M. Lefranc's suggestion, and to see in Rabelais's words, 'Panigon voulut qu'elle [the queen] et toute sa suite baissassent Pantagruel et ses gens. Telle estoit la courtoisie et coustume du pays,' another reminiscence of Cartier's second voyage, in the narrative of which we read that Donnacona 'pria notre cappitaine luy bailler les bras pour les baiser et accoller qui est leur mode de faire chère en ladicte terre[3].' The expression 'faire chère' probably suggested to Rabelais the contempt which Brother John expressed for these ceremonies compared with the more substantial cheer of king Panigon's kitchen.

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[1] IV, x (V of 1548 edition).

[2] Hakluyt, VIII, 263 and 145 (Discourse of Christopher Carleill).

[3] Rabelais has doubtless also in his mind Erasmus's account of the similar custom in England.

There is also, if I am not mistaken, another reminiscence of the Indians whom Cartier carried off to France. In IV, xlii we are told that the Queen of the Chitterlings in pursuance of the treaty with Pantagruel sent to Gargantua seventy-eight thousand royal Chitterlings 'under the conduct of the young Niphleseth, Infanta of the island. The noble Gargantua sent them as a present to the great King of Paris; but from change of air and also for want of mustard,...they nearly all died.' But 'the young Niphleseth was preserved and honourably treated; afterwards she was married in a high and wealthy position, and had several fine children, for which God be praised.' Does not this too recall the fate of Cartier's Indians, all of whom died with the exception of one little girl of ten years old[1].

After leaving the Island of Cheli Pantagruel came to that of Procuration, 'which is a country all blurred and blotted. I could make nothing of it. There we saw Pettifoggers and Catchpoles—folk with their hair on. They invited us neither to eat nor drink[2].' Here again there seems to be a reminiscence of Cartier's First Voyage. Between Chaleur Bay and Gaspé Bay they met with 'thick fogs and obscurity,' and of the people whom they encountered on the shore of Gaspé Bay, we are told that 'they are the poorest folk that there may be in the world,' and that 'they have their heads shorn close all about except a tuft on the top of the head which they tie like a horse's tail[3].'

The 1548 edition of the Fourth Book ends abruptly with the fragment of a chapter which tells of the arrival of Pantagruel and his companions after the storm at the Island of the Macreons. Though I do not agree with M. Lefranc in thinking that the greater part of the Fourth Book was already written when this partial publication took place, it is probable that at any rate this particular episode was in a more or less finished state, and that therefore Rabelais was still under the influence of Cartier's voyages when he wrote it. The analogy which M. Lefranc points out between Rabelais's description of the spirit-haunted Island of the Macreons and that which André Thevet gives in his *Cosmographie Universelle* of the imaginary Island of Demons is very striking and interesting. For, as M. Lefranc says, in several maps of the sixteenth century an Isle of Demons figures off the coast of

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[1] Hakluyt, *loc. cit.*

[2] IV, xii (vi of partial edition).

[3] Baxter, pp. 108, 109.

Labrador[1], and its legend may well have been familiar to Rabelais. At the beginning of the seventeenth century we find the similar name of the Isle of Devils applied to the Bermudas. It is the name which they bear in the two accounts of the shipwreck of the *Sea Adventure,* by Silvester Jourdan and William Strachey respectively, which Shakespeare probably read before he wrote the *Tempest*[2].

Nearly all the foregoing instances have been taken from the partial edition of the Fourth Book, which Rabelais published in 1548. In the rest of the book, as it appeared in the complete edition of 1552, there are only slight traces of Cartier's influence. Canada indeed is mentioned by name, the Island of Medamothi, the account of which forms the second chapter of the 1552 edition, being compared with it for size; but I very much doubt whether, as M. Lefranc suggests, Medamothi stands for Newfoundland. For while Medamothi is described as a single island, Newfoundland is represented in all the maps which appeared about the time of Cartier's narratives, and which were based for these parts on his discoveries, as a group of islands, varying from nine in the Harleian Map to three in Descelier's Map of 1550. I think also that M. Lefranc exaggerates the realism in Rabelais's description of the *tarande* which Pantagruel bought from a Scythian merchant of the country of the Gelones (Siberia). It is true that the presence of such a merchant in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland agrees with the idea, which Cartier and Jean Alfonse had both formed, that Canada was 'an end of Asia,' but the description of the *tarande* is practically identical with that of the *Scytharum tarandrus* given by Pliny, and I doubt whether Rabelais knew that it fairly well represents a real animal, the reindeer.

There is another possible reminiscence of Cartier's voyages in the Fourth Book. May not the vocabulary of the language of the natives which appears at the end of the First and Second Voyages[3] have suggested to Rabelais the *Briefve declaration d'aucunes dictions plus obscures* which he appended to the Fourth Book?

In the episode of the Ringing Island which opens the Fifth Book, M. Lefranc finds another reminiscence. He suggests that the idea of an island inhabited by birds who were once men is inspired by Cartier's First Voyage. There we read of three Islands of Birds; first, the Funk Islands to the East of Newfoundland, which were so full of *Apponatz* (great auks), *Godez* (guillemots or razorbills, or possibly both), and *Margaulx* (solan geese) 'that it seemed as if they had been stowed there[1]'; secondly, Greenly Island off the coast of Labrador, which was inhabited by guillemots and puffins; thirdly, the Bird Rocks in the Gulf of St Lawrence, which were 'as full of birds as a field of grass,' and which Cartier named Isles des Margaulx. Now the termination of Margaulx is identical with that adopted by Rabelais for the *clergaulx*, *monagaulx* etc. of his Ringing Island. This may be a mere coincidence, but I am inclined to regard it as lending support to M. Lefranc's suggestion. Further support is to be found in the mention in chapter iii of Robert Valbringue, whom all the commentators agree to be Roberval. I may also note that this theory that the framework for the satire of the Ringing Island was suggested to Rabelais by Cartier's voyages agrees with a view which I put forward on other grounds in a former number of this *Review*, namely, that the episode was written in 1546[2]. At the same time I still hold to the opinion that the main source of inspiration is the legend of St Brandan, in which an Island of Birds, who were formerly men, plays a prominent part[3]. Indeed one source may easily have suggested the other. For had Rabelais looked at a contemporary map, as, for instance, the great map made by Pierre Desceliers at Arques near Dieppe in 1546[4], he would have seen the Isle aux Margaulx in the Gulf of St Lawrence, and the Isle of St Brandan almost due East of Cape Race.

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[1] In the map of 'Sebastian Cabot' (1544) it is placed near the Strait of Belle Isle. In Michael Lok's map (1582) it occupies much the same position. In the map from Peter Martyr's *De orbe novo*, published at Paris and dedicated to Hakluyt (1587), it is put several degrees further north.

[2] Jourdan's narrative is entitled *A Discovery of the Bermudas otherwise called the Isle of Divils*, 1610.

[3] There is a similar vocabulary at the end of the French abridgment of Pigafetta's narrative of Magellan's voyages.

I must reserve for discussion in another number the interesting question of Rabelais's views on the 'short and straight way to Cathay.'

ARTHUR TILLEY.

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[1] *Arrimez.* Du Petit Val has *semés*, a translation of Ramusio's *seminati* (see Baxter, p. 77).

[2] II, 25 (October, 1906).

[3] See my *François Rabelais*, p. 252.

[4] Known as *La Mappemonde de Henri II.* It is reproduced by Jomard. St Brandan's Isle appears in the maps of Sebastian Cabot and Michael Lok, and in the Paris map dedicated to Hakluyt. Professor Egerton in the *Cambridge Modern History* (IV, 746) notes that in 1631 a grant of the island was gravely requested and as gravely made.

‘EARTH UPON EARTH.’

Theodor Fontane verdeutscht in seinen Gedichten (4. Aufl., Berlin, 1892, S. 447) eine Inschrift, die er auf einem Grabsteine im Kirchhof von Melrose Abbey gelesen:

Erde gleisst auf Erden
In Gold und in Pracht;
Erde wird Erde
Bevor es gedacht;
Erde türmt auf Erden
Schloss, Burg, Stein;
Erde spricht zu Erde:
Alles wird mein.

Im Original lauten die Zeilen:

The Earth goeth on the Earth
Glistring like gold
The Earth goes to the Earth
Sooner then it wold
The Earth builds on the Earth
Castles and Towers
The Earth says to the Earth
All shall be ours.

Auf der andern Seite des Steines steht:

memento mori
Here lyes James Ramsay, portioner of Melrose who died July 15th 1761.

Die Zeilen sind aber viel älter und stammen aus einem mittelenglischen Gedichte, das in mehreren Fassungen überliefert ist.

Eine derselben, erhalten in dem Porkington MS. (damals im Besitz von W. Ormsby Gore Esq. in Porkington, Salop) wurde bereits 1855 gedruckt in den *Early English Miscellanies in Prose and Verse selected from an inedited Manuscript of the Fifteenth Century,* edited by J. O. Halliwell for the Warton Club. In einer Anmerkung zu dem Gedichte sagt Halliwell: ‘The poem here printed, of *Earth upon Earth,* is the most complete copy known to exist. Other versions, varying considerably from each other, are preserved in MS. Seld. sup. 53; MS. Rawl. C 307; MS. Rawl. Poet. 32; MS. Lambeth 853; and in the Thornton MS. in Lincoln Cathedral. Portions of it are occasionally found inscribed on the walls of churches.’ Die beiden letzten Fassungen in dieser Liste sind 1867 gedruckt worden, und zwar die aus MS. Lambeth 853 in *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ,* edited by Frederick J. Furnivall, E.E.T.S., vol. 24, S. 88—90, und die aus dem Thornton MS. in den *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse,* edited by George G. Perry, E.E.T.S., vol. 26, S. 96.

Noch eine andre Fassung des Gedichtes habe ich mir vor einigen Jahren aus einer Handschrift abgeschrieben, die damals im Besitze eines Antiquars in Brighton war, über deren weiteren Verbleib ich aber nichts ermitteln konnte. Es war eine Pergamenthandschrift, folio, von 90 Blättern. Sie enthielt eine lateinische Abhandlung über die sieben Sacramente 'Oculi Sacerdotis,' und auf der ursprünglich frei gebliebenen Rückseite des letzten Blattes war von einer Hand des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts das englische Gedicht eingetragen.

Diese im Brighton MS. überlieferte Fassung des Gedichtes scheint mir den Vorzug vor allen anderen zu verdienen. Ich gebe zunächst einen genauen Abdruck derselben mit allen Schwankungen der Orthographie. Über auslautendem n findet sich durchgängig ein ~, doppeltes l ist meist durchstrichen (ƚƚ), u und v werden ohne Unterschied gebraucht, für th wird zuweilen þ geschrieben.

(1)

Erthe oute of erthe   is wondyrly wroghte
Erthe vpon erthe   gete nobley of noughte
Erthe vpon erthe   has sete all his thovghte
How erthe vpon erthe   maẏ be hye brovghte

(2)

Erthe vpon erthe   wolde be a kynge
How erthe sall to erthe   thenkys he nothyng
For whan erthe byddes erthe   his rent home brynge
Þan sall erthe from erthe   haf petus p*ar*tynge

(3)

Erthe vpon erthe   wynnes castells and tours
Than says erthe vnto erthe   'this is all ovres'
But whan erthe opon erthe   has bigged his borowes
Than sall erthe for the erthe   sofur sharpe shovres

(4)

Erthe gothe vpon erthe   os movlde opon movlde
Erthe gothe opon erthe   glyd*er*yng os golde
Lyke as erthe to erthe   neu*er* go shulde
ȝyte shall erthe to erthe   rather þan he wolde

(5)

Why þat erthe loues erthe   wond*er* me thynkes
Vr why þat erthe vpon erthe   swetys or swynkes
ffor whan erthe opon erthe   is brente wit*h*in þe brynkes
Þan sall erthe of the erthe   hafe a foule stynke

(6)
Lo erthe vpon erthe   consider *þou* may
How erthe comes into *þe* erthe   nakyd all way
Why sulde erthe vpon erthe   go stovte or gay
Sethen erthe oute of erthe   sall passe in por aray

(7)
I concell erthe opon erthe   *þat* wykkydly has wrouthe
The whyle *þat* erthe is vpon erthe   to turn vp his thouthe
And praye to god vpon erthe   *þat* all the erthe wrouhte
Þat erthe oute of erthe   to blys may be browthe.

Wie die Orthographie so schwankt auch der Dialekt. Neben nördlichen Formen wie 'ha*s*,' 'say*s*,' '*s*all,' '*s*ulde,' etc. finden sich solche wie 'go*the*,' '*sh*all,' '*sh*ulde,' 'glyder*yng*,' die nach dem Süden oder Mittellande weisen. Wir haben es also wohl mit einer Abschrift (entweder einer südenglischen Vorlage durch einen nordenglischen Schreiber oder umgekehrt) zu tun.

Gegenüber den Schwankungen in Orthographie und Dialekt ist eine eigentümliche Vers- und Strophenform streng durchgeführt. Die Strophe besteht aus vier Zeilen, deren jede in zwei Hälften zerfällt. Die erste Hälfte endet ausnahmslos mit dem Worte 'erthe.' In jeder Strophe ist *ein* Reim durchgeführt.

Die von Furnivall gedruckte Fassung aus dem Lambeth MS. (c. 1430) enthält fünf Strophen mehr als die obige aus dem Brighton MS.:

Lambeth MS.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Brighton MS.	1	2	3	4	—	—	—	5	6	—	7	—

Diese fünf Strophen aber zeigen eine von der aller andern abweichende und auffallend unbeholfene Form. Es genügt *eine* derselben (6) anzuführen:

O wrecchid man, whi art þou proud   þat art of þe erþe makid?
Hider brouȝttist þou no schroud,   But poore come þou, and nakid;
Whanne þi soule is went out,   & þi bodi in erþe rakid,
Þan þi bodi þat was rank & Vndevout,   Of alle men is behatid.

Die sieben andern Strophen sind dieselben wie im Brighton MS. Wenn die beiden Handschriften im Einzelnen von einander abweichen, hat das Brighton MS. durchgängig bessere Lesarten, namentlich sind die Zeilen im Lambeth MS. oft arg überladen, z. B. in Strophe 8 (= Strophe 5, Brighton MS.):

Whi þat erþe to myche loueþ erþe,   wondir me þink,
Or whi þat erþe for superflue erþe   to sore sweete wole or swynk;
For whanne þat erþe upon erþe   is brouȝt withinne þe brink,
Þan schal erþe of þe erþe   haue a rewful swynk.

Die von Perry gedruckte Fassung des Thornton MS. (c. 1440) giebt nur die ersten fünf von den sieben Strophen des Brighton MS. Im

Ganzen ist die Strophenform gut gewahrt. In Strophe 4, Zeile 3 ist die Form durch Umstellung verdorben:

Lyke as erthe to erthe   neuer go scholde.
(Brighton MS.)

Lyke as erthe neuer more goo to erthe scholde.
(Thornton MS.)

Ausserdem bietet die 3te Zeile der zweiten Strophe eine schlechtere Lesart:

For whan erthe byddes erthe   his rent home brynge.
(Brighton MS.)

When erthe bredis erthe,   and his rentis home brynge.
(Thornton MS.)

Die noch ungedruckte Fassung in MS. Arch. Seld. B, supra 53, folio 159, verso (c. 1450) enthält sechs von den sieben Strophen des Brighton MS., Strophe 5 ist ausgelassen. Strophe 4 und 6 des Brighton MS. sind umgestellt. In der letzten Strophe (= Str. 7 des Brighton MS.) ist die Form durch Auslassung der Wörter ‘upon erth’ in Zeile 3 offenbar entstellt:

I cowsayl erth apon erth   *þat* wykytly hath wroht
Whyle erth ys apon erth   to turne al hys thowth.
Now pray we to god   *þat* al erth wrowth
Þat erth owt of erth   to blys myth be browth.

In Zeile 2^b und 3^a bietet des Brighton MS. bessere Lesarten.

Die ebenfalls bisher ungedruckte Fassung in MS. Rawl. C. 307, fol. 2 (c. 1460) enthält ausser den ersten fünf Strophen der Brighton Fassung noch drei andere, die nur in diesem MS. überliefert sind. Zwei davon zeigen in der letzten Zeile eine abweichende Form. Diese drei Strophen lauten:

What may erthe say to erthe   at beste tyme of all?
Nought bot *þat* erthe opon erthe   shall hafe a fall.
But when erthe oute of erthe   shall com to the last call,
Þan sall erthe be full ferde for þe sely sall.

Beholde þou erthe opon erthe   what worship þou hase,
And thynk þou erthe opon erthe   what maistres þou mase,
And how erthe opon erthe   what gatis at þou gase,
And þou sall fynde it forsuthe that þou haste many fase.

Now he *þat* erthe opon erthe   ordande to go
Graunte *þat* erthe vpon erthe   may govern hym so,
Þat when erthe vnto erthe   shall be taken to,
That þe saule of þis erthe   suffre no wo.

Die vorletzte Strophe muss in Nordengland entstanden sein, da die Versausgänge in der südlichen Dialektform nicht reimen würden. Auf nordenglischen Ursprung der Handschrift deuten auch zwei lateinische Gedichte am Ende derselben (in derselben Hand wie das Übrige) auf den Tod eines Gilbert Pynchbeck, der 1458 in York starb. Da aber unser Gedicht in dieser Hs. neben nördlichen Formen ('*s*all,' 'ha*s*e,' 'ma*s*e,' 'ga*s*e,' 'fa*s*e,' 'glitter*and*') auch eine Anzahl südliche Formen ('ha*th*,' 'goe*th*,' '*sh*all') zeigt, so dürfen wir wohl darin die Abschrift eines nördlichen Schreibers aus einer südenglischen Vorlage erkennen.

Die ebenfalls bislang ungedruckte Fassung in MS. Rawl. Poet. 32, fol. 32, verso (c. 1440) trägt dieselbe Überschrift wie die im Lambeth MS., zu der sie auch andere Beziehungen zeigt. Die Halbzeilen sind darin als Vollzeilen geschrieben, so dass wir an Stelle jeder Strophe je zwei erhalten. Zuerst kommen acht Strophen, die den ersten *vier* der Brighton und Lambeth Fassung entsprechen:

Erthe oute of erthe
Is wonderly wrouȝte.
Erthe hath of the erthe
Getyn a dignite of noughte.

Erthe apon erthe
Hath set alle his thoughte,
How erthe apon erthe
May be hiere ybroughte. etc.

Auf diese acht bezw. vier Strophen folgen die Verse, die im Lambeth MS. die siebente Strophe bilden, aber mit wesentlichen Abweichungen:

Oute of the erthe cam the erthe
Wantynge his garnament,
To hide the erthe to lappe the erthe
To hym was clothing ylent.

Now goth the erthe apon erthe
Disgesily ragged and to rent,
Therfore schal erthe vnder erthe
Suffer ful grete turment.

Dann folgt Strophe 5 des Brighton MS.:

Whi that erthe loueth erthe
Wonder y may thinke,
Or whi that erthe for the erthe
Unreasonably swete wol or swynke.

For whanne erthe vnder erthe
Is brouȝte withynne brynke
Thanne schal erthe of the erthe
Haue an oribyll stynke.

Dann folgen die Strophen, die auch noch im Lambeth MS. und zwar an zehnter und fünfter Stelle stehen, dort aber arg überladen:

Yif erthe wold of erthe
Thus hartily haue thynkynge,
And how erthe out of erthe
Shal at last haue risynge.

Thanne schal erthe for erthe
Yelde right sweite rekenynge,
Thanne schuld for erthe
Neuer mysplese heuene kynge.

Thow wrecchid erthe þat thus for erthe
Trauelist nyht and day
To florische the erthe to paynte the erthe
With thi wanton array,
Yit schalt thou erthe for alle thi erthe
Make thou neuer so gay,
For thi erthe in to erthe
Clynge as clotte in clay.

Dann folgen sieben (bezw. vierzehn) Strophen, die nur in dieser Hs. überliefert sind. Die erste zeigt einen Formfehler, insofern als der Reim nicht durchgeführt ist—grace: race; hate: gate—die andern bringen kaum einen einzigen neuen Gedanken, sondern wiederholen nur redselig und langatmig bereits Gesagtes:

Thinke now erthe how thou in erthe
Goist euer in dethis grace,
And thanne thou erthe for all the erthe
Shalt neuer stryue ne race.
Bute for thou erthe with thi erthe
Hauntist enuye and hate,
Therefor schal erthe for erthe
Be excluded from heuene gate.

Fowle erthe whi louyst thou erthe
That is thi dedly foo,
And bildest on erthe
As thou schuldist dwelle euer moo.
But thou erthe forsake the erthe,
Or that thou hennys goo,
Vnder erthe for lust of erthe
Thou schalt haue sorow and woo.

Whiles erthe may in erthe
To festis and to drynkis gone
Til the be made frome the erthe
As bare as any bone.
Thanne if erthe comyth to erthe
Makyng sorow and mone,
Thanne saith erthe to the erthe
Thou were a felow but now art thou none.

Thus the erthe queytith the erthe
That doith to him seruyse
Or trystin on erthe or plese the erthe
In any maner wise.
Therfor thou erthe be ware of erthe
And thou the auyse,
Lest thou erthe perische for erthe
Byfore the hihe iustyse.

For the erthe was made of erthe
At the first begynnynge
That erthe schuld labour the erthe
In trowthe and sore swynkynge.

But now erthe lyueth in erthe
With falshode and begilynge
Therfor schal erthe for erthe
Be punsched in payne euerlastynge.

But erthe forsake the erthe
And alle his falshede,
And of the erthe restore the erthe
Goodis that ben mysgete.

Or that erthe be doluyn in erthe
And vnder fote ytrede,
For synne of erthe *þat* hath do in erthe
Ful sore he schalle be bete.

Drede thou erthe while thou in erthe
Hast witte and resonne at thi wille
That erthe for loue of erthe
Thi soule thou nought spille.

And thou erthe repente the in erthe
Of alle that thou hast don ille
And thanne schalt thou erthe apon erthe
Goddis biddyngis fulfille.

Den Schluss bilden zwei Strophen, die der Schlussstrophe im Lambeth MS. entsprechen:

And god that erthe tokist in erthe
And suffredist paynes ful stille
Late neuer erthe for the erthe
In dedly synne ne spille.

But that erthe in this erthe
Be doynge euer thi wille
So that erthe for the erthe
Stye vp to thi holy hille.

Der Dialekt ist südenglisch.

Die im Porkington MS. (aus der Zeit Edward IV) vorliegende Fassung unseres Gedichtes (gedruckt 1855 von J. O. Halliwell, siehe oben) ist offenbar eine Überarbeitung der Brighton Fassung. Der alte Kern ist deutlich erkennbar. Der Überarbeiter hat zuerst zwei siebenzeilige Strophen vorausgeschickt, in denen er zum Lesen des Gedichtes und zu ernstem Denken an den Tod auffordert[1]:

Lo! wordly folkus, thouȝ this procese of dethe
Be not swetene, synke not in youre mynde.
When age commyth, and schorteth is here brethe,
And dethe commyth, he is not far behynde;
Then here dyscression schal wel know and fynde
That to have mynd of deth it is ful nessesery,
For deth wyl come; doutles he wyl not lang tarrye.

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[1] Der Druck ist selten; deshalb und weil eine Vergleichung dieser Fassung mit den andern für unsern Zweck wesentlich, ist sie hier wieder abgedruckt.

Of what estate ȝe be, ȝoung or wold,
That redyth uppon this dredful storrye,
As in a myrroure here ȝe may be-holde
The ferful ende of al youre joye and glorie:
Therefore this mater redus us to youre memorie:—
Ȝe that syttyth nowe hye uppon the whele,
Thynke uppon youre end, and alle schal be wele.

Die ihm vorliegenden sieben Strophen hat er dann in der Weise überarbeitet, dass er jeder zwei Zeilen angehängt hat:

(1)

Erthe uppo erthe is woundyrely wroȝte;
Erthe uppon erthe has set al his thouȝte,
How erth uppon erthe to erthe schall be brouȝte;
Ther is none uppon erth has hit in thouȝte,—
Take hede;
Whoso thinkyse one his end, ful welle schal he sped.

(2)

Erth uppon erth wold be a kynge,
How erth schal to erthe he thinkes nothinge;
When erth byddyth erth his rent whome brynge,
Then schal erth fro the erth have a hard parttynge;
With care;
For erthe uppon erthe wottus never wer therefor to fare.

(3)

Erth uppon erth wynnis castylles and towris;
Then saythe erth to erth, al this is ourus,
When erth uppon erth has bylde al his boures,
Then schal erth fro the erth soffyre scharpe schorys,
And smarte;
Man, amend the betyme, thi lyfe ys but a starte.

(4)

Erth gose one erth as mold uppone molde
Lyke as erth to the erth never agayne schold:
Erth gose one erth glytteryng in gold,
Ȝet schale erth to the erth rather then he wolde.
Be owris;
Ȝefe thi almus with thi hand, trust to no secatour.

(5)

Why that erth lovis erthe merwel me thinke,
For when erth uppon erth is broht to the brynk,
Or why erth uppon erth wyl swet or swynke,
Then schal erth frou the erth have a fool stynke
To smele,
Wars then the caryone that lyis in the fele.

(6)

Lo! erth uppon erth consayfe this thou may,
That thou commys frome the erth nakyd alway;
How schuld erth uppon erth goe[1] prod or gaye?
Sene erth into erth schal pase in symple araye,
Unclad:
Cloth the nakyd whyl thou may, for so God the bad.

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[1] Halliwell's Druck: *soe*.

(7)

I concele erth uppon erth,   that wykydly has wroȝt,
Whyl erth is one erth,   to torn alle his thouȝt,
And pray to God uppon erth,   that al mad of nouȝt,
That erth owte of erth   to blys may be brouȝt[1],
With myrthe[2],
Thorow helpe Jhesu Chryst, that was ouer ladus byrthe.

Der Überarbeiter hat seine Vorlage an mehreren Stellen verschlechtert. In Strophe 6, Zeile 1, ist ‘consayfe’ kaum so gut wie ‘consyder,’ und in Zeile 2 ist ‘frome’ entschieden schlechter als ‘into.’ Die Umstellung der Zeilen in Strophe 1 ist ungeschickt, und Zeile 4, die Zeile 2 der Vorlage entspricht, ist schon des identischen Reimes wegen ‘thouȝte: thouȝte’ (statt ‘noughte’) zu verwerfen. Die Umstellung der Zeilen in Strophe 4 mag hingehen, die Umstellung der Zeilen in Strophe 5 dagegen hat Konstruktion und Sinn entstellt.

Zwischen der sechsten und siebenten Strophe hat der Überarbeiter die folgenden fünf Strophen eingefügt. Dass diese Strophen, die nur in diesem MS. überliefert sind, in der Tat eine Interpolation sind, beweist schon ihre abweichende Form: während in den andern sieben Strophen jede der ersten vier Halbzeilen (wie in der Brighton Fassung) mit dem Worte ‘erthe’ schliesst, ist dies in diesen Strophen nicht der Fall:

Erth uppon erth, me thinkys the ful blynd,
That on erth ryches to set al thi mynd:
In the gospel wryttyen exampul I fynde,
The pore went to heyvyn, the rych to hel I fynd,
With skyle:
The commandmentus of God wold he not fulfyle.

Erth uppon erth, deyle duly thy goode
To the pore pepul, that fautt the thi foode;
For the love of thi Lord, that rent was one the roode
And for thi love one the crose schedhis hart blode—
Go rede;
Withoute anny place to reste one his hede.

Erthe uppon erth, take tent to my steyvyne;
Whyl thou levyst, fulfyle the werkys of mercy vij.
Loke thou lete, for oode ne for ewyne,
For tho byne the werkus that helpyne us to heyvyne,
In haste;
Tho dedus who so dose thar, hyme never be agaste.

Erth uppon erth, be thou never so gaye,
Thow moue wend of this world an ureydy waye;
Turne the be-tyme, whyle that thou maye,
Leste it lede the into hele, to logege therefor ay,
In pyne;
For there is nother to gett, bred, ale ne wyne.

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[1] Halliwell's Druck: bouȝt.   [2] Halliwell's Druck: myȝthe.

Erth uppon erth, God ȝeyf the grace,
Whyle thou levvyst uppon erth to purway the a plas
In heywyn to dweylle, whyl that thou hast space;
That myrthe for to myse, it wer a karful case,
For whye,—
That myrth is withowttyn end, I tel the securly.

Die oben besprochene Strophenform ist so eigentümlich, dass sie beabsichtigt sein muss. Die Brighton Fassung ist die einzige, in der sie in allen Strophen streng durchgeführt ist. Die Bearbeiter kehrten sich wenig daran, bemerkten auch vielleicht die Künstelei gar nicht. In der Brighton Fassung bringt ausserdem jede Strophe einen neuen Gedanken, während in den längeren Fassungen derselbe Gedanke wiederholt wird, oder triviale Glossen zu bereits Gesagtem gemacht werden. Von den überlieferten Strophen finden sich

4	in allen	7	Manuskripten
1	in	6	„
2	in	4	„
3	in	2	„

alle andern in nur je einem Manuskripte. Die ersten sieben Strophen zeigen in allen Handschriften jene eigentümliche Strophenform, und diese sieben Strophen und keine anderen sind im Brighton MS. überliefert. Wir dürfen also wohl annehmen, dass diese Fassung, wenn sie nicht die Original-Fassung ist, doch derselben am nächsten steht.

Das kleine Gedicht hat sich offenbar grosser Beliebtheit erfreut und hat weite Verbreitung gefunden. Wahrscheinlich im Süden Englands entstanden, wurde es auch im Norden wiederholt abgeschrieben. Nach Halliwell's Mitteilung finden sich Teile desselben hie und da an den Wänden englischer Kirchen, noch im achtzehnten Jahrhundert wurde eine Strophe daraus auf einen schottischen Grabstein gemeisselt, und eine Übertragung derselben hat schliesslich einen Platz unter den Gedichten eines deutschen Dichters gefunden[1].

H. G. FIEDLER.

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[1] Walter Scott interessierte sich für das Gedicht. In einem Briefe, den Fürst Pückler-Muskau am 12. April 1828 aus England in die Heimat sandte (*Briefe eines Verstorbenen*. Stuttgart 1831, Bd. IV. S. 352), heisst es: ‘Ich war zum Mittag wieder bei der Herzogin von S. A. auf ihrem Landhause versagt, wo mich eine angenehme Überraschung erwartete. Man plazierte mich zwischen der Wirtin und einem langen, sehr einfach aber liebevoll und freundlich aussehenden, schon bejahrten Manne, der im breiten schottischen, nichts weniger als angenehmen Dialekte sprach, und mir ausserdem wahrscheinlich gar nicht aufgefallen wäre, wenn mir nicht nach einigen Minuten bekannt geworden—dass ich neben dem berühmten—Unbekannten sässe......Gegen Ende der Tafel gab er und Sir Francis Burdett wechselweise Geisterhistorien zum Besten, halb schauerlich halb launig... Er rezitierte nachher noch eine originelle alte Inschrift, die er vor Kurzem erst auf dem Kirchhofe von Melrose Abbey aufgefunden hatte. Sie lautete folgendermassen:’ [hier folgt eine ziemlich getreue Wiedergabe der oben p. 218 mitgeteilten Inschrift und eine deutsche Übersetzung derselben].

THE INQUISITION AND THE 'EDITIO PRINCEPS' OF THE 'VITA NUOVA.'

WITH the exception of the *Latin Eclogues* and *Letters*, the *Vita Nuova* was the last of Dante's works to appear in print. The *Divina Commedia* was first printed in 1472, the *Convivio* in 1490, the *Quaestio* in 1508, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (in Trissino's translation) in 1529, and the *De Monarchia* in 1559. The *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova* did not appear until 1576, more than a hundred years after the first edition of the *Commedia*. It was printed at Florence, and in the same volume were included fifteen of Dante's *Canzoni*, and Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*.

'Habent sua fata libelli!' Certainly the fate of Dante's works, as printed books, has been a curious one. The *Divina Commedia*, after it had been in print for over a century, and more than forty editions of it had been published, was placed on the Index, as a book which no good Catholic might read until it had been expurgated by the Holy Office. The *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, first printed in Italian, was for fifty years regarded as a falsification by Trissino, until the publication of the original Latin text by a Florentine exile in Paris[1]. The *De Monarchia*, which was in all probability seen through the press by an Englishman, an Oxford scholar, the famous John Foxe, the martyrologist, made its first appearance in print in the guise of a Reformation tract[2], and was promptly in its turn placed on the Index. The *Eclogues* and the *Letters*, the *Quaestio*, which owes its rehabilitation to the scholarly labours of two members of the Oxford Dante Society, have all been denounced, at one time or another, as contemptible forgeries. While, strangest fate of all, the *Vita Nuova*, the work of Dante's earliest years, 'the first and tenderest love-story of modern literature,' as it has been called, had to submit to defacement and mutilation at the hands of the Inquisition, before it was allowed to leave the press in its native Florence.

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[1] By Jacopo Corbinelli in 1577.

[2] See my letter in the *Athenaeum*, April 14, 1906.

It was long ago remarked by Milton that the version of Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* contained in this same volume is a garbled one. In an entry in his Commonplace Book, under the heading *Rex*, he notes that Boccaccio's account of the *De Monarchia*, and of its being condemned to the flames as a heretical book by the Cardinal Bertrand Poyet, which is to be found in previous editions of the *Vita*, was suppressed by the Inquisitor in this edition[1]: 'Authoritatem regiam a Papa non dependere scripsit Dantes Florentinus in eo libro cui est titulo Monarchia, quem librum Cardinalis del Poggietto tanquam scriptum haereticum comburi curavit, ut testatur Boccatius in vita Dantis editione priore, nam e posteriori mentio istius rei omnis est deleta ab inquisitore' (fol. 182)[2].

That certain passages of the *Divina Commedia* should have been censured as too plain spoken, or that the *De Monarchia* should have been placed on the Index, is perhaps not altogether surprising; but that in the *Vita Nuova* even the Inquisition should have been able to discover anything offensive to the Church, or to religion, is almost incredible. Yet such was the case. Witte, thirty years ago[3], pointed out that certain terms applied by Dante to Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova*, and certain phrases, have been altered or suppressed in the *editio princeps*; and Professor Barbi has recently drawn attention to the same fact in more detail[4]. Allusions to the Deity, quotations from Scripture, words with sacred associations, and so on, have in nearly every instance come under the ban of the censor. One cannot help being struck with the triviality, not to say absurdity, of the majority of the alterations. For example, Dante five times applies to Beatrice the epithet *gloriosa*. Once, apparently by an oversight, the word has been allowed to stand (§ 38, l. 12); in the four other instances it has been changed either to *graziosa* (§ 2, l. 5 'la graziosa donna della mia mente'), or to *leggiadra* (§ 33, l. 6), or to *vaga* (§ 34, l. 6), or to *unica* (§ 40, l. 4 'questa unica Beatrice'). Again, for *salute* the censor has substituted in one passage *quiete* (§ 3, l. 41 'la donna della quiete'), in another *dolcezza* (§ 11, l. 3), and in a third *donna* (§ 11, l. 18), which last has been adopted in several modern editions, including the Oxford Dante, although all the MSS. read

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[1] See my article on *the Earliest References to Dante in English Literature* in *Miscellanea di Studi Critici edita in onore di Arturo Graf* (1903).

[2] The Inquisitor's *imprimatur* runs as follows: 'Si è veduto la Vita Nuova descritta da Dante Allighieri, insieme con la Vita dell' istesso Dante descritta da Giouan Boccaccio, e si è concesso licenzia che si stampino questo dì ultimo di Dicembre 1575. Fra Francesco da Pisa Min. Conu. Inquisitor Generale dello stato di Fiorenza ff.'

[3] In his edition of the *Vita Nuova* (Leipzig, 1876), p. xxxii.

[4] In his critical edition of the *Vita Nuova*, published by the *Società Dantesca Italiana* (1907).

salute. In like manner *beatitudine* is replaced six times out of twelve by *felicità* (§ 3, l. 14; § 5, l. 4; § 9, l. 12; § 18, ll. 35, 38, 49, 59); twice by *quiete* (§ 10, l. 16; § 11, l. 27); and elsewhere by *chiarezza* (§ 11, l. 21), or by *allegrezza* (§ 12, l. 2), or by *fermezza* (§ 18, l. 38). While *beato* is either omitted altogether, as where Dante speaks of 'quella nobilissima e beata anima' (§ 23, l. 61), or of 'questa Beatrice beata' (§ 29, l. 11), or else it is altered to *contento* (§ 23, l. 83, 'o com' è contento colui che ti vede').

On occasion, however, the tampering with the text is of a much more serious nature. For instance, at the beginning of § 22 a whole sentence has been radically altered. Where Dante wrote 'Siccome piacque al glorioso Sire, lo quale non negò la morte a sè,' the censor prints 'Siccome piacque a quel vivace amore, il quale impresse questo affetto in me'! In § 26 (ll. 14—17) where Dante describes how people in the streets of Florence exclaimed of Beatrice as she passed by, 'Questa non è femmina, anzi è uno de' bellissimi angeli del cielo', the censor has thought it necessary to substitute 'anzi è simile a uno de' bellissimi angeli.'

Still more serious are the suppressions, affecting as they do some of the most beautiful passages in the book. In § 23 the words 'Osanna in excelsis,' chanted by the angels who receive the soul of Beatrice, are omitted, and their place is supplied by dots. In § 24 the reference to St John the Baptist, 'quel Giovanni, lo quale precedette la verace luce, dicendo: *Ego vox clamantis in deserto*: *parate viam Domini*,' which is introduced in order to explain the connexion between the names 'Giovanna' and 'Primavera,' is ruthlessly cut out; as is the touching cry in the words of Jeremiah from the *Lamentations*: 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! facta est quasi vidua domina gentium,' by which the narrative is interrupted (in § 29) when Dante comes to record the death of Beatrice. These words occur a second time a little later on (in § 30), and are again omitted by the censor; but by an oversight he has allowed Dante's twice repeated reference to 'le allegate parole' to remain in the text, whereby he has thrown the whole paragraph into confusion.

The last, and in some respects the most cruel and senseless mutilation of the text occurs in the closing sentence of the book. Dante, after expressing the hope that he may be spared to write that concerning Beatrice, which has never yet been written of any woman, concludes in these words: 'E poi piaccia a Colui, che è Sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria della sua donna, cioè di quella benedetta Beatrice, la quale gloriosamente mira nella faccia di Colui, *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus. Amen.*' The censor has destroyed the whole significance of this impressive passage by cutting out the reference to Beatrice in the last lines, so as to read 'E poi piaccia a Colui, che è Sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria di Colui, *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus.*'

Such treatment of a book is indeed like 'raking through the entrails of an author,' as Milton puts it[1], 'with a violation worse than any could be offered to his tomb'! The outrage is all the more flagrant because in the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the book the reader is solemnly told that the *Vita Nuova*, 'operetta del famosissimo Poeta e Teologo Dante Allighieri, da esso Dante, e da altri riputata di non piccol valore,' is one of those works, 'le quali ne migliorare, ne pareggiare si possono, bastando dir solamente essere opera di Dante.'

PAGET TOYNBEE.

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[1] In the *Areopagitica*.

MILTON'S HEROIC LINE VIEWED FROM AN HISTORICAL STANDPOINT.

VIII.[1]

THE caesura is one of the most important variable elements of the heroic line. It changes with great frequency in English blank verse and more so, or at least with more skill, in the poems of Milton than of any other, as the first critics allow. We notice, indeed, how keenly alive Milton was to the metrical effect of a break in the measure coupled with the practice of run-on lines, when he speaks in his preface to *Paradise Lost* of 'the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another.' A careful study of his art in this respect will therefore repay attention.

Originally, as we saw, the English decasyllable had a traditional pause after the fourth sounded syllable. This rule, brought over from France with the metre itself, was observed by Chaucer's contemporaries in most cases and recurs in the earliest examples of blank verse written by the Earl of Surrey in the former half of the sixteenth century. Chaucer, however, after he had been influenced by Italian versification, shifted the caesuras more freely in his later compositions[2]. This innovation of his was adopted by the Elizabethan dramatists after Marlowe. Milton, too, a close student of the Italian masters, took the same liberties as the latter did. From them he learnt, like the French lyrical poets of the thirteenth century, to break the line after an unaccented syllable[3], *e.g.*, *P.L.*, I, 34: 'Th' Infernal Serpent; he it was whose guile' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 159; IV, 413; VI, 223; VII, 412; XI, 573; *P.R.*, II, 465; IV, 352, etc.), and he did so in masterly fashion.

Whereas, however, with the French and the earlier English poets a caesura was mainly a regular break in each line, Milton seems to widen out the conception, and the stress he lays on 'the sense variously drawn out from one verse into another' marks his preference for run-on lines and for a grammatical, and not merely a metrical, stop. Still, even in these we must distinguish between two kinds, one of which forms a sharp break in the measure, and the other a less important and a slighter one. The former we shall therefore term actual *caesuras*, and the latter simply *pauses*.

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[1] Continued from p. 39.

[2] See B. Ten Brink, *op. cit.*, pp. 178–81.

[3] This has been termed the *lyrical* caesura by modern critics, especially when it follows a fourth unaccented syllable in the heroic line.

True caesuras are made conspicuous by a marked silence in the verse, as is the case in *P.L.*, IX, 99–100: 'O earth, // how like to Heaven, // if not preferred / More justly[1] //.' Mere pauses imply, not a total interruption, but only a delay, a momentary rest, in the progress of the sentence, such as may occur between a verb and its object, *e.g.*, in *P.L.*, XI, 311–13:

> But prayer / against His absolute decree /
> No more avails / than breath against the wind, /
> Blown stifling back / on him that breathes it forth.

All these breaks in the metre are intermingled either in one and the same line or in consecutive ones, as in *P.L.*, III, 600–1:

> The stone, // or like to that, // which here below /
> Philosophers / in vain / so long have sought

and the subtle art of Milton is nowhere more conspicuous than in the blending of the two.

In some cases the poet, for variety's sake, even tones down the interruption in the sense or suppresses it altogether. This, however, is not a frequent device of his, and out of 798 lines in the first book of *Paradise Lost* we have only found 58 practically without a break. The decasyllable then fairly often forms a complete whole in itself, *e.g.*, *P.L.*, III, 591: 'The place he found beyond expression bright,' while sometimes the grammar connects it with the previous or with the following metre in such a way as to lengthen it apparently into an ampler measure. Thus Milton now and again cleverly removes the traditional limits of the heroic line, as in *P.R.*, I, 305–6:

> Under the covert of some ancient oak
> Or cedar / to defend him from the dew

(and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 775–76; VIII, 586–87) and reverts, so to speak, for a while to a kind of metrical prose the effect of which, if sparingly and aptly used, is to extend the province of verse.

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[1] We note a strong caesura by means of a double stroke, a pause by a single one.

With respect to the placing of the caesura, we find in these poems due regard paid to traditional rules and room left for more recent innovations. Early French and Italian poets preferred to break the line after the fourth, and less often after the sixth, sounded syllable. This reappears in Chaucer and the first Elizabethan playwrights. Milton, too, favours such caesuras above all others, and in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*, for instance, out of 907 lines, 472, or more than half, are thus divided. But to add a little variety the poet frequently inserts a secondary pause in the measure, as in *P.L.*, VII, 630–32[1]:

A race of worshippers /
Holy and just! // thrice happy, / if they know /
Their happiness, // and persevere upright!

Milton's instinctive sense of harmony also prompted him to place a caesura in many cases after an unaccented syllable following on the fourth or sixth traditionally accented ones, as in *P.L.*, VIII, 560–61:

To whom the Angel, / with contracted brow:—
Accuse not Nature! // she hath done her part

or again in *P.L.*, VIII, 589–91[2]:

Wherein true Love consists not. // Love refines
The thoughts, and heart enlarges // —hath his seat
In Reason, / and is judicious.

A caesura is sometimes found after the third syllable, when the second is stressed, as in *P.L.*, IX, 247: 'Assist us. // But, if much converse perhaps' (and cf. *P.L.*, I, 139; III, 382; VI, 697; IX, 377; XI, 208; *P.R.*, II, 96, etc.), but more seldom than in the previous instances.

All three breaks of the line from the third to the seventh sounded syllable are made use of by Milton to secure variety. Now and again he allows two breaks in one verse. When he does so, the former generally comes after a stressed and the latter after an unstressed syllable, or *vice versa*, by a sort of compensation, as in *P.L.*, VII, 510: 'Govern the rest, / self-knowing, // and from thence' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 142; V, 229; VI, 627; IX, 659, 1135; X, 987; *P.R.*, I, 324; III, 248). Sometimes, indeed, we observe them after two accents, as in *P.L.*, VI,

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[1] Notice that Milton hardly ever places a break after the fourth syllable, if unaccented, as Dante does in *Inferno*, VI, 14: 'Con tre gole / caninamente latra' (where we fancy the adverb must have been displaced from the beginning of the metre). The only instance we have met with is *P. L.*, X, 936: 'Me, me only, / just object of his ire,' while in *P. L.*, IV, 556, as we said in a previous section, we would accent *sunbeam* on the second syllable.

[2] The traditional break of the heroic line being after the fourth sounded and accented syllable and its natural stress iambic, Milton in his later blank verse no longer stresses the fifth sounded syllable, as he once did in *Comus*, l. 86: 'Who with his soft pipe and smooth-dittied song.'

147: 'From all: // my sect thou seest; // now learn too late' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 230; III, 600; VIII, 270; X, 741, 1074; XI, 71; *P.R.*, II, 242), and more rarely still two caesuras after unstressed syllables, as in *P.L.*, I, 167: 'Shall grieve him, // if I fail not, // and disturb' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 164; IV, 878; IX, 566; *P.R.*, I, 273). Fewer still are the decasyllables with three caesuras, *e.g.* *P.L.*, I, 620: 'Tears, / such as Angels weep, / burst forth: // at last' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 894, 990; VI, 422; XI, 585; *P.R.*, III, 51), and mostly found in enumerations, *e.g.*, 'And flowering odours, // cassia, / nard, / and balm' (*P.L.*, V, 293; and cf. *P.L.*, X, 114), and with six stresses. Four caesuras are an exception in perfectly regular blank verse, as in *P.L.*, I, 558: 'Anguish // and doubt // and fear // and sorrow // and pain' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 950; IV, 538; V, 601; IX, 116; *P.R.*, III, 268), and more than four in such a case are unknown. Lines with six accents also allow many caesuras. The following (*P.L.*, V, 411), 'Of sense, // whereby they hear, // see, // smell, // touch, // taste,' has five (and cf. *P.L.*, VIII, 527), while the line of eight accents (*P.L.*, II, 621) quoted in section VII, has six. If we put aside decasyllables with but one break, we see that the next most frequent are those with two and the rarest those with the greatest number of caesuras.

All the above-mentioned interruptions of the sentence, we take it, are adopted to vary the metre. Those, however, which the poet admits after the first or the second syllable serve a distinct purpose in the line. The latter caesura is oftener met with as more agreeable to the iambic rhythm of the measure and of the English language[1], *e.g.* in *P.L.*, XI, 126–27:

> He ceased, // and th' Archangelic Power prepared /
> For swift descent.

In this case the first foot of the line is almost always an iambus and out of five instances in point, especially in the earlier books of *Paradise Lost*, only one is found to begin with an initial accent, as *P.L.*, I, 747: 'Erring, for he with this rebellious rout' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 227; V, 673; VIII, 553; XI, 40; *P.R.*, II, 320; IV, 240). Such a break in the sentence befits a vehement apostrophe, or short pregnant clauses, and occasionally brings out an emphatic final word. The break after the first syllable is far less frequent. It occurs only four times in the 798 lines of the first book of *Paradise Lost* (*P.L.*, I, 6, 203, 347, 394) and eleven times in the second book (*P.L.*, II, 12, 54, 99, 129, 187,

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[1] We differ on this point from the views expressed by the French critic M. Motheré (*op. cit.*, p. 30), and consider the natural rhythm of the language to be iambic since so many English words, such as nouns and adjectives, stressed on the first syllable are frequently preceded by unemphatic monosyllables, such as articles or prepositions.

361, 471, 488, 566, 793, 1023) in 1055 lines. The monosyllable thus isolated at the beginning of the verse is usually a conjunction, a pronoun, an imperative, or a noun brought into special prominence, as in *P.L.*, II, 187–88:

> War, // therefore, open or concealed, alike /
> My voice dissuades.

Very seldom, however, such a word completes the sense of a preceding line, as in *P.L.*, III, 41–2:

> But not to me returns
> Day, // or the sweet approach of even or morn

and instances in point (*e.g. P.L.*, IV, 747; XI, 492) are few and far between.

As for caesuras at the close of the heroic line, they are even rarer than those at the beginning. In the first book of *Paradise Lost*, we notice seventeen after the eighth syllable (*P.L.*, I, 12, 193, 209, 245, 316, 358, 376, 382, 422, 424, 442, 559, 562, 599, 604, 620, 768) and three only after the ninth (*P.L.*, I, 250, 661, 728), and fourteen of the latter kind in the second book (*P.L.*, II, 163, 361, 466, 547, 573, 583, 787, 789, 810, 821, 864, 895, 931, 1043). A caesura after the fourth foot, or the eighth syllable, of the line may now and then set off some words, as in *P.L.*, VI, 801–2:

> Stand still in bright array, / ye Saints; // here stand, /
> Ye Angels armed,

but as a rule it marks the beginning of a fresh sentence and prepares an overflow into the next line, as in *P.L.*, V, 568–70:

> how, last, // unfold /
> The secrets of another world, // perhaps /
> Not lawful to reveal.

The caesura after the ninth syllable, the rarest of all, sometimes allows the following monosyllable to stand out, as in *P.L.*, II, 787: 'Made to destroy. // I fled, / and cried out // Death!' or again in *P.L.*, III, 342: 'Adore him / who, / to compass all this, // dies.' Fairly often, too, a fresh clause begins with the last word and runs into the next line, *e.g.*, *P.L.*, VIII, 458–59:

> called
> By Nature / as in aid, / and closed my eyes

(and cf. *P.L.*, IX, 963–64; XI, 515–16; *P.R.*, III, 377–78). Thus of these final caesuras the most frequent is the one after an even syllable, or a complete foot, and the other chiefly helps to bring out the close of a sentence, or to start a new development. They are both comparatively scarce and when they, or the corresponding caesura at the commencement of the verse, become more numerous, without being specially called for by the sense, as in the seventh book of *Paradise Lost* (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, VII, 108, 306, 323, 374, 640), they argue some slight negligence on the part of the poet.

Run-on lines, of course, are closely connected with this form of the caesura and Milton was rather partial to them, as we have already inferred from his express mention of this device in his metrical preface to the earlier epic. Indeed, when rhyme had been discarded, it was well nigh impossible for him not to stray beyond the limits of the measure, if he wished to avoid monotony. With regard to his use of the overflow or *enjambement*, we fully agree with Professor Masson's statements. The latter remarks[1] that Milton usually extends a clause up to the fourth syllable of the next line and seldom beyond the eighth, his sentences being generally concluded (if not at the end of the decasyllable) between these two extremes, as in *P.L.*, II, 252–53:

> but rather seek
> Our own good fròm ourselves,

(and cf. *P.L.*, II, 215–16; V, 704–5, 788–89; VI, 854–55; VIII, 607–8; XI, 287–88; *P.R.*, II, 99–100; III, 250–51). Sometimes even a line may be divided from the preceding or the succeeding one by no caesura at all, thus giving rise to a sort of poetical period, as in *P.L.*, VI, 586–87:

> whose roar
> Embowelled with òutrageous noise the air

and again in *P.L.*, II, 701–2:

> That underneath had veins of liquid fire
> Sluiced from the lake.

But such instances are not very common owing to the difficulty of reading so many words together without a break.

Besides, if the essential element of the line in Milton is, as we have seen, a fixed number of syllables, it seems equally necessary that a listener should be able to distinguish one fixed series of syllables from the others, and therefore that each series should close with at least a slight pause of the voice. So much is this the case that the poet occasionally makes use of the last place in the verse to give special importance to an otherwise rather insignificant word, *e.g.*, to *then* in *P.L.*, II, 231–32:

> Him to unthrone we then
> May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield

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[1] Cf. Prof. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 228–29.

(and cf. *I* in *P.L.*, II, 807; *do* in *P.L.*, IV, 475, and even adjectives like *grave* in *P.L.*, II, 300; *proud* in *P.L.*, VI, 89; and *mild* in *P.L.*, X, 1046). Sometimes, however, as we just saw, but very rarely, Milton discards the final pause altogether, writing for instance:

> watered all the ground, and each
> Plant of the field (*P.L.*, VII, 334–35)

or

> which compelled
> Me thus (*P.L.*, IX, 609–10),

or again, more harshly still,

> Eurynome (the wide-
> Encroaching Eve perhaps)[1] had first the rule
> (*P.L.*, X, 581–82)

(and cf. *P.L.*, IV, 458–59; VI, 758–59; VII, 373–74, 581–82; X, 65–6, 100–1). These are blemishes which mostly occur in the latter half of *Paradise Lost*, possibly owing to hasty composition, but are easily excused by reason of their infrequency.

Such a use of run-on lines also serves the purpose of welding the separate metrical units together into a whole in which even the momentary breaks of the sentence add to the general effect. When Milton adopts slight pauses and places them regularly after the fourth or the sixth sounded syllable, he produces an impression of calm and smoothness, as in *P.L.*, IV, 598–99:

> Now came still Evening on, / and Twilight grey /
> Had in her sober livery / all things clad, *etc.*

or in Mammon's honeyed speech:

> As He our darkness, / cannot we His light /
> Imitate when we please? / This desert soil /
> Wants not her hidden lustre, / gems and gold, / *etc.*
> (*P.L.*, II, 269–71.)

We notice the same method in Eve's account of her first day in Paradise (*P.L.*, IV, 440–88), or again in Satan's flattering description of imperial Rome (*P.R.*, IV, 44-108). There are few slight rests of the voice which chiefly follow the second or the third foot of the metre and give the rhythm a kind of quiet stateliness.

In other passages various caesuras irregularly succeed each other, coming after a whole or a half foot. If they merely alternate between the fourth and the seventh sounded syllables, as so frequently happens in Milton's epics, they charm the ear by grateful changes and bring out words and phrases by contrast. It is here that we chiefly meet with pauses, while actual caesuras are usually found towards the beginning or the end of the line and frequently divide a foot. When caesuras, however, are the rule, the overflow metre also reappears and the verse is often broken up into short abrupt clauses ending with some forcible monosyllable the very position of which helps to make it prominent. Such instances are particularly common in passionate speech, as in Adam's indignant address to Eve after the fall:

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[1] This was perhaps borrowed from the practice of the earlier Italian poets. Cf. *Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. II, p. 295.

> Out of my sight, / thou serpent! // That name best
> Befits thee, // with him leagued, / thyself as false
> And hateful, *etc.* (*P.L.*, x, 867–69.)

or Satan's despairing soliloquy:

> All good to me is lost; //
> Evil, // be thou my Good; // by thee at least /
> Divided empire / with Heaven's King I hold, //
> By thee, // and more than half perhaps will reign; //
> As Man ere long, // and this new World, // shall know
> (*P.L.*, IV, 109–13),

in Death's apostrophe to Satan (*P.L.*, II, 689–703), or Abdiel's (*P.L.*, VI, 131–48), and the Redeemer's reply to the Tempter (*P.R.*, III, 122–44). In all these cases the many strong caesuras are not only conducive to metrical variety, but serve to express the vehement feelings of the several speakers.

IX.

After investigating the component parts of Milton's heroic line, we have to inquire into its harmony and the means which Milton used to achieve this harmony, since that alone stamps the work of a true poet and is often wanting in the compositions of inferior writers. Milton, however, whose father was a musician of some repute, had learnt as a child to appreciate both melody and rhythm[1]. Hence he mentions 'apt numbers' among the essentials of the epic measure along with the syllabic principle and the sense drawn out from one verse into another. The fact that he gives this quality the first place in his enumeration shows how highly he esteemed it, and quite rightly too, for all the other elements of the metre are subservient to it. We shall therefore have to examine each of these elements successively to see how Milton turned them to account in order to make his decasyllables harmonious.

If we study the poet's vocabulary in *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise*

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[1] Cf. the similar case of the French historian, J. Michelet, whose prose has such a musical flow and whose father and grandfather had a talent for music.

Regained, we cannot but notice how carefully he avoids certain letters. The English language, it has been often remarked, tends to accumulate sibilants in passages of some length. To guard against this, Milton seldom uses many plurals or words ending in *s* consecutively. And as far as he could, he discarded terms containing such combinations as *sh* or *ch* sounded *tch*. This fastidiousness, of course, led to his rejecting a great number of words and, as a matter of fact, he uses fewer on the whole than the Elizabethans, and fewer, by a long way, than Shakespeare. Thus *child* and *children* are very seldom found in these poems (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, I, 395; X, 194, 330; XI, 761, 772; *P.R.*, I, 201; IV, 330), or derivative words like *childless* (*P.L.*, V, 989, 1037), *childish* (*P.R.*, I, 201), *childhood* (*P.R.*, IV, 220, 508) and *child-bearing* (*P.L.*, X, 1051), while the synonyms *son*, *daughter* and *offspring* are very frequent. Both *charm* and *chase* are rare; we meet with but two instances of *to fetch* (*P.L.*, VIII, 137; *P.R.*, IV, 589) and *to chill* (*P.L.*, V, 65; XI, 264), and with but one of the adjective *chill* (*P.L.*, IX, 890) and with few instances of *short*. Again, Milton is very sparing of *th*, except perhaps in one line (*P.L.*, II, 164): 'Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms,' where it is purposely repeated. But if he disapproves of harsh consonants he favours certain vowels, as Professor Masson has pointed out, preferring, after the Italian fashion, the broad *a* in *sovran* and *harald* to the less sonorous *sovereign* and *herald*, and the preterites *sprung* and *sung* to *sprang* and *sang*.

We can now easily understand why a good many of his words are *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα* or rare instances, such as *church* (*P.L.*, IV, 193), *accessible* (*P.L.*, IV, 546), *advantageous* (*P.L.*, II, 363), *undesirable* (*P.L.*, IX, 824), *contagious* (*P.L.*, IX, 1036), *courageous* (*P.L.*, IV, 920), *unsuccessful* (*P.L.*, X, 35). Few adjectives are to be found ending in *-geous* or *-gious*, probably because of their combination of sibilants. And it would also seem as if the poet were not very partial to polysyllables, and were better pleased with words of three syllables, or such as the current pronunciation of his day reduced to three syllables by contraction.

We may notice, too, in the epic poems that Milton's words are chiefly contracted in the case of liquid consonants, *e.g.*, *murm'ring*, *sev'ral*, *vi'late*, *hast'ning*, *etc.*, which has no inharmonious effect. And it is no less remarkable that the poet deliberately omits some harsh nouns or substitutes softer ones for them, as *river-horse* (*P. L.*, VII, 474) for *hippopotamus*, and perhaps *leviathan* (*P.L.*, I, 201; VII, 412) for *whale*[1].

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[1] We find *whale* once in *P.L.*, VII, 391 and *crocodile* in *P.L.*, VII, 474, whereas *river-dragon* is used in *P.L.*, XII, 191.

What minute attention Milton paid to the study of verbal sounds, we see in the case of words that may take one of two endings. Thus he chooses *dreamed* in preference to *dreamt* in *P.L.*, III, 459; V, 31–32; *P.R.*, II, 264, and he writes *frore* in *P.L.*, II, 594–95:

> the parching air
> Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire,

to prevent a second sibilant from coming just after the first one, while he admits the usual form *frozen* in *P.L.*, II, 602: 'Immovable, infixed, and frozen round.' A similar reason probably explains the expansion of *sentries* into *senteries* (*P.L.*, II, 412) and *ministries* into *ministeries* (*P.L.*, VII, 149). The same delicate feeling for harmony accounts for his use of *sometime* instead of *sometimes* in *P.L.*, IX, 824–25:

> A thing not undesirable—sometime
> Superior;

and of *far-fet* before *spoil* instead of *far-fetched* in *P.R.*, II, 401: 'Whose pains have earned the far-fet spoil. With that,' and justifies, as Professor Masson noticed[1], the adoption of *voutsafe* (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, II, 332; V, 365; XI, 318) for *vouchsafe*, of *strook* (*P.L.*, II, 165; VI, 863) for *struck*[2]—the latter occurring in *P.R.*, III, 146: 'Satan had not to answer, but stood struck,' to avoid a repetition of *oo*—and the choice of the softer forms[3] *Siloa* (*P.L.*, I, 11) for *Shiloah* (as found in *Isaiah*, viii, 6), *Basan* for *Bashan* in *P.L.*, I, 398, *Hesebon* (*P.L.*, I, 408) for *Heshbon* and *Sittim* (*P.L.*, I, 413) for *Shittim*. Thus, too, the poet elects to write *amerced* (*P.L.*, I, 609) instead of *deprived*, *libbard* (*P.L.*, VII, 467) instead of *leopard*, *emmet* (*P.L.*, VII, 485) instead of *ant*, and *foughten* rather than *fought* in *P.L.*, VI, 410: 'Victor and vanquished. On the foughten field.' Here again, as in most cases where he prefers the older form of words, he aims not at an archaic colouring for his style, but at the attainment of perfect euphony in his verse.

Milton is no less attentive to the effect produced on the ear by an accumulation of terms and here, too, he does all he can to avoid harshness. English versification, as we know, does not object on principle to hiatus as such (and several metrists, with G. Conway, have deplored the fact), the reason probably being that in a strongly stressed tongue, such a conflict of vowels is less offensive than in other languages, since the open syllables that give rise to it are seldom both accented. Still, despite the freedom thus granted, the author of *Paradise Lost* is very chary of hiatuses. He seems loath to admit two of these in the same line, and we only find eleven instances in the third book (*P.L.*, III, 3, 33, 270, 440, 521, 584, 636, 645, 658, 683, 703) in 742 verses, nine in the seventh book (*P.L.*, VII, 39, 48, 170, 172, 256, 524, 527, 560, 633) in 640, and thirteen in the third book of *Paradise Regained* (*P.R.*, III, 46, 69, 88, 107, 152, 199, 212, 229, 248, 308, 347, 360, 365) in 443. And as for a hiatus between two accented vowels without an intermediary caesura, such as perhaps occurs in *P.L.*, VI, 721: 'Ineffablý ínto his face received,' it is hardly ever to be found in the epic poems. While therefore Milton cannot entirely avoid a concourse of vowels, he endeavours, as far as he is able, to rob it of all harshness.

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[1] See Prof. Masson, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 170.
[2] *Id.*, p. 173.
[3] *Id.*, p. 171.

The same applies to the crowding of consonants in his verse. Such a repetition of sibilants as *Sion's songs* (*P.R.*, IV, 347) or *Moab's sons* (*P.L.*, I, 406) is extremely rare with him, as also are instances like *sad drops* (*P.L.*, IX, 1002), *run not* (*P.R.*, I, 441), *reign not* (*P.R.*, III, 215), or the double aspirate in *he her met* (*P.L.*, IX, 849). Here, too, Milton strives after softness and harmony.

It is curious, from this point of view, to notice—though the remark may seem trifling—that the poet avoids accumulating in one line a series of monosyllables, however much they abound in the English language. Indeed, he reacts against the natural tendency of the tongue and, for instance, out of 653 lines in the eighth book of *Paradise Lost* only twenty-five (*i.e.*, *P.L.*, VIII, 43, 66, 103, 172, 206, 210, 270, 277, 281, 320, 339, 341, 395, 397, 448, 488, 499, 521, 525, 549, 578, 612, 613[1], 629, 640) are formed of ten separate words each, and out of 502 lines in the first book of *Paradise Regained* only twenty-four (*i.e.*, *P.R.*, I, 39, 60, 66, 153, 207, 246, 252, 271, 276, 286, 299, 321, 322[1], 327, 343, 366, 377, 399, 404, 446, 459, 473, 478, 484). Even in these Milton places the most important words in such a position that they stand out from the rest, and thus guards against the unpleasant effect of a line wholly broken up. Notice in this respect the collocation of monosyllables in *P.L.*, VI, 131: 'Proúd, art thou mét? Thy hópe was to have reáched' (and cf. *P.L.*, I, 637; III, 174, 341; X, 770; *P.R.*, II, 383). Very often, too, he sets a word of two or more syllables in a conspicuous place which brings out its importance in the sentence, as in *P.L.*, II, 76–77:

> descent and fall
> To us is adverse. Who but felt of late

(and cf. *P.L.*, IV, 299; VII, 171; XI, 36, 626–27; *P.R.*, III, 426) But lines wholly made up of polysyllables are the rarest of all, as *P.L.*, II,

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[1] Two consecutive lines formed of monosyllables, as here, are rarer still (cf. also *P.R.*, III, 223–24).

185: 'Unrespited, unpitied, unreprieved' (and cf. *P.L.*, III, 373; V, 245, 622, 899; *P.R.*, II, 138, 446; III, 131, 429)[1]. As a rule, however, we find one polysyllable at least in Milton's heroic line to which the monosyllables, we may say, lead up as in *P.R.*, I, 429: 'For lying is thy sustenance, thy food' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 138, 373; V, 888; VII, 436; IX, 861; *P.R.*, IV, 399). His felicitous use of the vocabulary, no less than his mastery over the whole resources of his art, thus contributes to break the monotony of too regular verse by introducing a fresh element of variety.

The poet evinces the same mastery in the disposition of accents in his decasyllable. His custom of breaking the iambic rhythm by a trochee at the beginning of the line and after the caesura, while it does not spoil the harmony, helps him to produce a sonorous metre and to start a new sentence with a strong stress. This is no less true of the device by which he often places an emphatic accent between two slighter ones that act as a foil to it. And he now and again adds to the effect by causing the voice to dwell on some polysyllable thus emphasized, as in *P.L.*, X, 107: 'Or come I less conspicuous, // or what change,' or in *P.R.*, IV, 579: 'Ruin, and desperation, // and dismay' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 707; IV, 606; IX, 249–50; *P.R.*, II, 434). It may be remarked that, unless for some special purpose Milton happens to accumulate several stresses in one half of his line, he prefers to place a particularly strong one near the middle. Thus the reader, in accordance with the usual rhythm of English sentences, increases the volume of sound from the beginning of the verse till he reaches the most important word and then allows it to decrease from that point to the close.

Nor are the above considerations true only of isolated decasyllables. The charm of so many passages in *Paradise Lost*, as, for instance, of the speeches delivered in Pandemonium, is due, not only to a careful choice of terms, but to the artful alternation of strong and weak accents. We may also add the different place occupied in each line by the most prominent word and the various breaks in the sense made conspicuous by forcible caesuras, *e.g.*,

> Sight hateful, / sight tormenting! // Thus these two
> Imparadised / in one another's arms, /
> The happier Eden, // shall enjoy their fill
> Of bliss on bliss; // while I // to Hell am thrust, *etc.*
> (*P.L.*, IV, 505–8)

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[1] It may be noticed that three of these lines (*P.L.*, II, 185; V, 899; *P.R.*, III, 429) are formed of three words beginning with *un*-.

(and cf. *P.L.*, II, 163, 194, 249; V, 679–83), or, again, toned down to slight pauses and following milder stresses, which give an equable flow to the verse as in *P.L.*, II, 119–23:

> I should be much for open war, / O Peers, /
> As not behind in hate, / if what was urged
> Main reason / to persuade immediate war /
> Did not dissuade me most, / and seem to cast /
> Ominous conjecture / on the whole success

(and cf. *P.L.*, IX, 867–75; *P.R.*, II, 302–6, 379–82; III, 182–86). This skilful combination of both breaks and emphases helps to make the heroic line powerful and melodious.

We must also notice the effect of the caesuras at the beginning and at the end of the metre coupled with the influence of the overflow or *enjambement*. In his carefully written verse-paragraphs containing some passionate speech the poet frequently changes the breaks in the sentence. Thus in the Saviour's indignant reply to Satan:

> I never liked thy talk, // thy offers less; //
> Now both abhor, // since thou hast dared to utter /
> Th' abominable terms, / impious condition. //
> But I endure the time, / till which expired /
> Thou hast permission on me. // It is written, /
> The first of all commandments, / Thou shalt worship /
> The Lord thy God, // and only Him shalt serve, *etc.*
>
> (*P.R.*, IV, 171–77)

we observe that almost every line is distinguished from the preceding one by a different pause or caesura, and that the run-on lines are separated by others in which the sense ends with the decasyllable. The latter, however, is not a constant practice, since we find three overflows following, as in *P.L.*, IX, 1091–94, or four, as in *P.L.*, XII, 295–99, or five as in *P.R.*, III, 298–303, and sometimes even more, as in *P.L.*, VI, 240–53. But, allowing for exceptions, we may say that Milton disapproves of many continuous irregular lines and, if only for metrical variety, reverts with considerable persistence to the perfectly regular type.

We take it therefore that the poet, who knows of few things 'More grateful than harmonious sound to the ear' (*P.L.*, VIII, 606), owes his mastery in this respect to the art with which he blends strict observation of the essential laws of verse with full freedom on minor points. He strictly discards harsh words, preferring even archaic forms to them, he taboos all discordant accumulations of consonants or vowels, and makes a clever use of polysyllables in order to avoid the monosyllabic tendency of the language. But, if he frequently varies in his verse the position of the emphatic accent and its reinforcing caesura, if he now allows the line to overflow into the next and now ends a sentence with the measure itself, he never fails to preserve the fixed number of ten syllables in his heroic metre, he always lays a notable stress on the tenth syllable and almost always places a pause after it. Lastly, he breaks with the custom of the Elizabethan dramatists, and mostly begins or concludes his paragraphs with a whole line. In a few cases we find a speech commencing in the middle of the metre (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, II, 968, 990; IV, 724; V, 321, 404; VI, 150, 282; *P.R.*, II, 317; IV, 560), in fewer still ending there (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, II, 378, 466; XI, 460, 546, 552; *P.R.*, II, 321), and quite exceptionally[1] both commencing and ending thus (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, IV, 851–54; XI, 466–77). All these instances can be explained by the impulsive character of the discourses and are far outnumbered by those in which this does not take place. Milton therefore remains a rare example in English literature of a poet who, while he shook off the yoke of many traditional observances connected with the epic decasyllable, yet remained true to the principle of the metre and achieved such perfection in his art that his verse remains a model to future generations.

X.

In examining the composition and the harmony of Milton's heroic line, we have paid but slight heed to his subject-matter. And yet how important an influence the latter has exerted will be noticed by any careful reader alive to the marked change of tone in different passages. This may be comprised in the poet's phrase 'apt numbers,' which seems to imply the adaptability of the verse to its object. It was certainly present to his mind when he remarked in *P.L.*, III, 17–18:

> With other notes than to the Orphean lyre
> I sung of Chaos and eternal Night,

when he spoke of 'answerable style' in *P.L.*, IX, 20, and made mention of

> thoughts that voluntary move
> Harmonious numbers. (*P.L.*, III, 37–38).

His highest achievement, indeed, was to wed closely both matter and form in his epics, and all the elements of versification became subservient to this supreme purpose.

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[1] We cannot therefore but dissent from Mr Symonds (see *Fortnightly Review*, July–Dec., 1874, p. 774) when he says 'Like Virgil (Milton) opened his paragraphs in the middle of a line, sustaining them through several clauses till they reached their close in another hemistich at the distance of some half-dozen carefully conducted verses.'

A close investigation into the author's vocabulary will show his minute care in this respect. Whenever Milton aims at description, his line is filled with vivid picturesque terms. He renders the uproar of the furies round the Saviour resting at night by: 'Some howled, some yelled, some shrieked' (*P.R.*, IV, 423), in which the various noises are reproduced on an ascending scale. When he mentions the Bacchants as:

> the race
> Of that wild rout that tore the Thracian bard
> (*P.L.*, VII, 33–34),

the violent deed is echoed in the very words. A mild form of death he depicts as 'a gentle wafting' (*P.L.*, XII, 435), the murmur which survives a past storm as 'hoarse cadence' after 'The sound of blustering winds' (*P.L.*, II, 286–87), and of the birds' warbling in Paradise he tells us that

> airs, vernal airs
> Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune
> The trembling leaves. (*P.L.*, IV, 264–66).

This may seem an undesigned imitation of the various sounds arising from the language itself. But it must be intentional when we find it recurring in more than one line. Thus Milton renders the effect of audible reverberation in *P.L.*, II, 787–89:

> I fled and cried out *Death!*
> Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sighed
> From all her caves, and back resounded *Death*
> (*P.L.*, II, 787–89);

the difficulties of Satan's journey through Chaos in *P.L.*, II, 947–50:

> so eagerly the Fiend
> O'er bog or steep, through straight, rough, dense, or rare,
> With head, hands, wings, or feet, pursues his way,
> And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies;

the approach of morning in *P.L.*, V, 5–8:

> which th' only sound
> Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
> Lightly dispersed, and the shrill matin song
> Of birds on every bough;

and the falling of night in *P.L.*, IV, 598–609. Here the result is not brought about by a few casual onomatopoeias but by studied verbal felicity.

Milton's art is perhaps seen at its best in his use of alliteration to make his lines more effective and harmonious. Thus in

> A dismal universal hiss, the sound
> Of public scorn (*P.L.*, X, 508–9)

we seem to hear a number of serpents, in *P.L.*, I, 768 the whirring of insect wings, in *P.L.*, IV, 556 a swift descent, in *P.R.*, IV, 247–49:

> Hymettus, with the sound
> Of bees' industrious murmur, oft invites
> To studious musing,

the humming of a busy hive. Of course, if the alliterations are but few, they conduce to euphony and not to imitative effects (*e.g.*, *P.L.*, II, 902–3; *P.R.*, II, 358–59; III, 1, 323–24; IV, 605). In that case we often find three repetitions of the same consonant in three words of the same line, as in *P.L.*, I, 250: 'Where joy for ever dwells! Hail, horrors! hail' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 540, 553, 560; III, 73, 296; IV, 441; V, 646; VII, 298; VIII, 342; X, 1006; XI, 489; *P.R.*, I, 482; III, 278, 398; IV, 63, 517), and sometimes the alliteration runs on into the next verse, as in *P.L.*, II, 650–51:

> The one seemed woman to the waist, and fair,
> But ended foul in many a scaly fold

(and cf. *P.L.*, II, 464–65, 585–86, 772–73; III, 606–7; VIII, 83–84; *P.R.*, I, 160–61; II, 257–58). The poet very cleverly distributes his alliterative words: at one time they are nouns or adjectives, as in *P.L.*, XI, 489–90:

> Dire was the tossing, deep the groan, Despair
> Tended the sick

(and cf. *P.L.*, II, 836, 1021; III, 11, 44; IV, 511, 888; IX, 491; *P.R.*, IV, 406); at another they are both adjectives and nouns or verbs, as in *P.L.*, II, 579: 'Cocytus named of lamentation loud' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 174; III, 20, 691; IV, 293; V, 896; VII, 286; X, 225; *P.R.*, II, 257; III, 48; IV, 561). Occasionally we even notice two different alliterations in the same line, as in *P.L.*, III, 99: '*S*ufficient to have *s*tood, though *f*ree to *f*all' (and cf. *P.L.*, I, 555; II, 433, 624; IV, 326, 990; VI, 876; IX, 250; *P.R.*, II, 431; III, 268). According to Mr J. A. Symonds who carefully investigated this part of the poet's versification[1], Milton has a marked preference for the letters *f*, *l*, *m*, *r* and *w*, and artfully distributes his alliterations in a series of consecutive lines which he thus connects into a whole for purposes of argumentation or description. Thus he uses a reiteration of *d* and *f* to depict the war waged in heaven by the angels, in *P.L.*, VI, 211–14:

> *d*ire was the noise
> Of conflict; overhea*d* the *d*ismal hiss
> Of fiery *d*arts in *f*laming volleys *f*lew,
> And, *f*lying, vaulted either host with *f*ire,

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[1] Cf. *Fortnightly Review* for July–Dec., 1874, p. 776, *etc.*, from which we borrow several of our quotations.

and welds the different decasyllables by this means into one continuous paragraph.

Nor is he indifferent to vowel alliteration, as we may see by the predominance of *a* (as in *father*) in *P.L.*, IV, 962: 'But mark what I areed thee now: Avaunt'; of the *ee* sound in *P.R.*, IV, 411: 'From many a horrid rift abortive poured' (and cf. *P.R.*, IV, 248–49), and of *i* in *P.R.*, IV, 198–99:

If I, to try whether in higher sort
Than these thou bear'st that title.

We remark something akin to this in *P.L.*, III, 373: 'Immutable, Immortal Infinite' (and cf. also *P.L.*, II, 185; III, 231; V, 899; *P.R.*, III, 429)[1], where, however, the repetition perhaps bears more on the initial prefix than on the vowels. Occasionally the vowel alliteration is found in consecutive lines, *e.g.*, the *ee* sound in *P.L.*, IV, 40–45:

Till pride and worse ambition threw me down,
Warring in Heaven against Heaven's matchless King!
Ah wherefore? He deserved no such return
From me whom he created what I was
In that bright eminence, and with his good
Upbraided none, nor was his service hard.

Actual assonance, as practised in the early French epics or 'chansons de geste,' that is, a similarity between the final vowel sounds in successive verses, is much rarer, *e.g.*, in *P.L.*, XI, 853–55:

With clamour thence the rapid currents drive
Towards the retreating sea their furious tide.
Forthwith from out the ark a raven flies

(see, too, *P.L.*, XI, 857–58 and 860; and cf. *P.L.*, I, 612–13).

Lastly, some rhyming couplets, but extremely few (as we might expect in blank verse), have been discovered, *e.g.*, *P.L.*, II, 220–22:

This horror will grow mild, this darkness light;
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring

(and cf. *P.L.*, IV, 24–25, 26–27), and a few straggling rhymes perhaps in *P.L.*, I, 146, 148, 151:

Have left us this our spirit and strength entire,
Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
Or do him mightier service as his thralls
By right of war, whate'er his business be,
Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,

all of which, if really intentional, may be meant to add to the sonorousness of the metre.

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[1] See above, p. 243.

A similar attention to the effect of vowel sounds appears in the repetition of whole words or portions of a word, as in *P.L.*, IV, 411: 'Sole *part*ner and sole *part* of all these joys' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 995–96; IV, 852; VI, 656; *P.R.*, III, 387–88; IV, 434, 597). We have already noticed the impressive iteration of the name of Death in *P.L.*, II, 787–89. The same occurs with the words *foreknow* and *foreknowledge* in the following passage, *P.L.*, III, 117–19:

> If I foreknew,
> Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
> Which had no less proved certain unforeknown;

with *fall* and *fallen* in *P.L.*, V, 540–43:

> in this we stand or fall.
> And some are fallen, to disobedience fallen,
> And so from Heaven to deepest Hell. O fall
> From what high state of bliss into what woe!

with *lost* in *P.R.*, I, 377–80:

> Though I have lost
> Much lustre of my native brightness, lost
> To be beloved of God, I have not lost
> To love, at least contemplate and admire;

with *worse* in *P.R.*, III, 205–9, and *glory* in *P.R.*, III, 109–20. Sometimes, indeed, this subtle sense of verbal harmony beguiles the poet into admitting what are virtually puns, as in *P.L.*, V, 868–69:

> and to begirt th' Almighty Throne
> Beseeching or besieging

(and cf. *P.L.*, VI, 625–27; XI, 627, 756–57; *P.R.*, I, 222; II, 391). These, though perhaps not inappropriate on the lips of rebel angels, have been blamed by the best critics as undignified in epic poetry. They bear witness, however, to Milton's study of sounds in his heroic verse.

The very rhythm of the line adds to the impressiveness and sublimity of the whole. It is apparent even in the poet's disposal of words, and above all of the polysyllables, in his metre. He would seem to have noticed the tendency of a reader to sink his voice at the end of the measure and he therefore frequently concludes, most effectively, with a long word followed by a single monosyllable as in *P.L.*, I, 106–7:

> All is not lost—th' unconquerable will,
> And study of revenge, immortal hate,

or in *P.L.*, X, 311–13:

> And scourged with many a stroke th' indignant waves.
> Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
> Pontifical—a ridge of pendent rock

(and cf. *P.L.*, I, 77, 175; II, 88; III, 68; VI, 866; XII, 455; *P.R.*, IV, 53). This is frequently the case when a noun exceeds the accompanying adjective in length, so that the former is made conspicuous by its size and the latter by its position after the substantive, *e.g.*, *P.L.*, XII, 291: 'Save by those shadowy expiations weak,' or *P.L.*, VII, 267: 'Of this great round—partition firm and sure' (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 898; III, 367; IV, 502; V, 290; VI, 193; IX, 35; X, 238; *P.R.*, II, 109; IV, 628). In fact, the poet modifies the place of his adjectives at will, as the following example shows:

> Thus roving on
> In confused march forlorn, th' adventurous bands,
> With shuddering horror pale, and eyes aghast,
> Viewed first their lamentable lot. (*P.L.*, II, 614–17).

But he commonly sets short adjectives after the noun and longer ones before it, so as to make them stand out the better in his verse.

If, however, Milton means to strike the reader's mind by some forcible expression, he carefully selects an important word severed from the rest by a strong caesura and on which the voice is thus compelled to dwell. In *P.L.*, V, 611–15, for instance:

> Him who disobeys
> Me disobeys, breaks union, and, that day,
> Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
> Into utter darkness, deep engulfed, his place
> Ordained without redemption, without end.

the awful ruin of the rebel angels and their future punishment beyond all reach of hope are foretold and almost foreshadowed in the words *falls* and *end* which close the lines, proclaiming the divine judgment. If, on the other hand, the author wishes to express happier or calmer sentiments, he places a longer term before the caesura, as *rejoiced* in *P.L.*, VI, 878–79:

> Disburdened Heaven rejoiced, and soon repaired
> Her mural breach,

or *acceptance* in *P.L.*, XI, 457:

> For envy that his brother's offering found
> From Heaven acceptance

(and cf. perhaps *P.L.*, XI, 655; *P.R.*, I, 444; IV, 181). By such means the words are made to illustrate the sense.

Again, Milton aptly uses monosyllables for the same purpose. An early commentator, Dr Newton, points out that the lines (*P.L.*, II, 947–49)

> so eagerly the Fiend
> O'er bog or steep, through straight, rough, dense or rare,
> With head, hands, wings or feet pursues his way

admirably describe Satan's toilsome progress in short broken clauses which we find it hard to pronounce. Sometimes the poet brings out the full force of the monosyllable by isolating pauses, as in *P.R.*, IV, 561–62:

> He said, and stood;
> But Satan, smitten with amazement, fell,

or the apostrophe 'Fool!' in *P.R.*, VI, 135 (and cf. *P.L.*, II, 180; III, 171; XI, 515). We notice, too, that apart from any intent to express emotion, he often begins his metre with tiny words to allow the reader's voice to rise gradually towards the middle or he rounds up the line with them to let it gently down, as in *P.L.*, I, 60: 'The dismal situation waste and wild,' and in *P.L.*, II, 485: 'Or close ambition varnished o'er with zeal' (and cf. *P.L.*, I, 133; II, 376; IV, 680, 735, 819; VI, 159, 745, *etc.*). Frequently, too, he allows two monosyllables to close one measure while two more open the next, thus easing the transition to the ear, as in *P.L.*, V, 402–3:

> only this I know
> That one Celestial Father gives to all,

or again in *P.R.*, I, 450–51:

> What, to the smallest tittle, thou shalt say
> To thy adorers

(and cf. *P.L.*, II, 642–43, 981–82; III, 412–413, 724–25; V, 426–27; X, 206–7, 617–18; *P.R.*, I, 407–8; III, 249–50, 350–51, *etc.*). Thus Milton with great skill felicitously disposes these minor elements of his verse as a general carefully places his soldiers in the field.

Nor is the distribution of stresses in the decasyllable less worthy of notice. The poet delights to insert lines of perfectly regular iambic rhythm between others of a more mixed character, just as Shakespeare lets violent and soothing scenes alternate in his plays. In such cases Milton allows the accent to rest on even syllables, none being more strongly emphasized than the others, and the quiet tenor of the narrative or the description flows peacefully along. We have an instance of this in *P.L.*, IV, 449, *etc.*:

> That day I oft remember, when from sleep
> I first awaked, and found myself reposed,
> Under a shade, on flowers, much wondering where
> And what I was, whence thither brought, and how *etc.*

(and cf. *P.L.*, V, 563 *etc.*; IX, 532 *etc.*; *P.R.*, II, 368–77; IV, 581–90). The easy progress of the measure, with but very few metrical licences, marks the tranquil tone of such passages.

But all is changed of a sudden when the poet means to stir the passions. Take the indignant speech of Abdiel to Satan in *P.L.*, VI, 135–39:

> Fool! not to think how vain
> Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms,
> Who, out of smallest things, could without end
> Have raised incessant armies to defeat
> Thy folly,

which produces the impression of a trumpet blast. When the Devil in Paradise, at the sight of man's bliss, complains of his own sad fate (*P.L.*, IV, 505–20) or when, on being detected by the angelic watchers, he returns a scornful reply to their queries (*P.L.*, IV, 828–33), every single stress in the verse is clearly heard and seems to be of importance. The position of the accents is also pretty frequently shifted under such circumstances, and a careful scrutiny of some impassioned passages (such as *P.L.*, IX, 867–908; *P.R.*, I, 407–64; IV, 171–94), will show how often and in what different feet of the line the trochee now occurs, and what a thrilling effect this alteration has on the ear.

If stronger or slighter stresses help to depict agitation, mental excitement is also rendered to some extent by the breaks in the sentence. When the poet describes a calm scene, all such breaks occur in fairly regular succession and mostly after a whole foot. Then, too, the overflow or *enjambement* continues as far as the middle of the next line and does not stop at the first foot. These different features appear in Milton's speeches according to the nature of the speakers, whether angels or devils. Thus Satan, intending to impersonate a youthful denizen of Heaven, carefully adapts his words to his assumed character in *P.L.*, III, 662–67:

> Unspeakable desire to see and know
> All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
> His chief delight and favour, him for whom
> All these his works so wondrous he ordained,
> Hath brought me from the quires of Cherubim
> Alone thus wandering,

where all the pauses are slight and fall with ease. We can even, after a fashion, tell the persons brought before us by the degree of emotion betrayed in their language and by the versification they use. If we examine those passages in which the Creator declares His judgments and promulgates His decrees, as in *P.L.*, V, 600–9:

> Hear all ye Angels, Progeny of Light,
> Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
> Hear my decree, which unrevoked shall stand!
> This day I have begot whom I declare
> My only Son, and on this holy hill

> Him have anointed, whom ye now behold
> At my right hand. Your head I him appoint,
> And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
> All knees in Heaven, and shall confess him Lord

(and cf. *P.L.*, III, 79–134, 168–216, 274–343; V, 224–45, 719–32; VI, 29–55, 680–718; VII, 139–73; X, 34–62; XI, 46–71, 84–125; *P.R.*, I, 130–67), we find hardly any caesuras after the first or after the ninth syllable (discarding of course lines where such unavoidable monosyllables as *Son* and *go* are met with), and but few after the third or the seventh syllable. Run-on lines too, though not wholly suppressed, are not brought into prominence. The declarations of the unchangeable Deity, whom not the least shadow of perturbation can reach, must perforce show in their very nature a reflection of His sovereign majesty and perfect calm. Hence any striking caesura would be out of place in a divine mandate.

The grammatical breaks in the sentence become, however, both more frequent and more marked, when we descend from Heaven to earth and from earth to hell. The change is even manifest in the language of the Son of God as soon as He has assumed our human nature. His colloquies before the Incarnation with His Father breathe celestial repose, as in *P.L.*, X, 68–71:

> Father Eternal, / thine is to decree; //
> Mine both in Heaven and Earth / to do thy will /
> Supreme, / that thou in me, / thy Son beloved, /
> May'st ever rest well pleased. /

(and cf. *P.L.*, III, 227–65; VI, 723–45; X, 68–84), while in *Paradise Regained* there is more vehemence in some of His replies to the Tempter (*e.g.*, *P.R.*, I, 407–64; II, 379–91; IV, 171–94, 286–364). Here we notice several caesuras in one line, as in *P.R.*, IV, 300–5:

> The Stoic last in philosophic pride,
> By him called virtue, and his virtuous man,
> Wise, // perfect in himself, // and all possessing,
> Equal to God, / oft shames not to prefer,
> As fearing God nor man, / contemning all
> Wealth, // pleasure, // pain or torment, // death and life

(and cf. *P.R.*, II, 460; III, 75, 107, 128), and several important overflows, as in *P.R.*, III, 124–26:

> But to show forth His goodness, and impart
> His good communicable to every soul
> Freely

(and cf. *P.R.*, I, 418–19, 444–45, 450–51; III, 130–31; IV, 188–89, 319–20). All this is more conspicuous still, owing to the presence of sin which has tainted and troubled the soul, in Adam's speech before and after the fall. From the ninth to the twelfth book of *Paradise Lost* we detect in his words, as a novel superadded feature, the characteristics referred to above. Thus we are struck with the place and the prominence of the caesuras in his address to his guilty wife:

> O Eve, in evil hour thou didst give ear
> To that false Worm, of whomsoever taught
> To counterfeit Man's voice—true in our fall,
> False in our promised rising (*P.L.*, IX, 1067–70)

(and cf. *P.L.*, X, 867–908), and with the run-on lines that end after the first foot of the following decasyllable, as in *P.L.*, IX, 1085–86:

> In solitude live savage, in some glade
> Obscured,

or in *P.L.*, X, 134–35:

> However insupportable, be all
> Devolved

(and cf. *P.L.*, IX, 1091–92; X, 723–24, 734–35, 894–95, 904–5, 958–59, *etc.*). And should these instances not appear quite convincing, it will be enough to examine the discourses of the rebel angels and especially those of Satan, when he soliloquizes and can have no thought of deceiving, as in *P.L.*, IV, 366–72:

> Ah! gentle pair, // ye little think how nigh /
> Your change approaches, // when all these delights /
> Will vanish, // and deliver ye to woe— //
> More woe, // the more your taste is now of joy: //
> Happy, // but for so happy ill secured /
> Long to continue, / and this high seat, / your Heaven
> Ill fenced // for Heaven to keep out such a foe

(and cf. *P.L.*, IV, 32–113, 358–92; IX, 99–178, 473–93), to see how Milton's caesuras are made subservient to the passions and the mental agitation of the beings he describes.

We may therefore justly say that every element of the poet's heroic verse is pressed into service to illustrate his subject-matter. Carefully chosen words and sounds, alliteration and assonance contribute to bring out his meaning while adding to the variety and harmony of the measure. Slight pauses and secondary stresses prevail where he depicts peaceful scenes, emphatic accents and marked caesuras where he deals with strong passions. From the skill with which all these are combined we rightly infer that Milton regarded his blank verse, not as a mere empty ornament, but rather, if we may say so, as the living frame which was to body forth his lofty conceptions to the world. Form and thought are so closely linked together in his grand epics that what he conjures up before our minds is in some degree actually typified and interpreted by the subtle variations of his metre.

Our study of Milton's heroic line has brought out at least one fixed element of his versification. The blank metre that makes up *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* always contains ten counted syllables, and ten only. Five of these, and never fewer (but now and again more than five), bear a slight or a strong accent, and the tenth counted syllable is in every case stressed. If we except a small number of lines that betray some negligence, each decasyllable is separated from the other by a pause or a caesura. Milton's heroic measure is therefore regular both on account of its strictly syllabic character and of its law of a minimum quantity of accents.

Other component parts of his verse are liable to change, and help to keep it free from monotony. Not to mention the occasional presence of six or more stresses, we note that the poet allows two trochees, sometimes side by side, in his epic measure and in rare cases three, but not consecutively. He also admits an unaccented syllable at the close of the metre and very seldom, in imitation of the earlier dramatists, an extra unstressed syllable before the caesura. The variety he aims at is often obtained by letting the grammatical break of the sense occur in different places, and by deftly intermingling slight pauses and caesuras. Run-on lines are also very frequent, and Milton uses them to emphasize some important word or to add grandeur and dignity to whole passages.

Thus our poet's heroic metre coincides both in structure and in its essential rules with the older dramatic decasyllable which the Elizabethan playwrights had shorn of its rhymes, and can be conclusively identified with the early French epic measure and the Italian hendecasyllable. From the latter Milton borrowed the practice of sparing neither trochees nor elisions, and these so-called licences, though they stop short of the introduction of any trisyllabic foot, also make for variety.

But whereas the same metrical laws and similar metrical licences are to be met with in other writers, the author of *Paradise Lost* remains conspicuous for the perfect harmony of his verse. This is chiefly due to a skilful combination of the most diverse elements: choice words, artfully distributed stresses, and a judicious blending of pauses and caesuras. The very position of the prominent terms and the careful selection of appropriate sounds help to convey and shadow forth the poet's meaning. Alliterations, varied caesuras and run-on lines all contribute to evoke the underlying sense before our mind and ear, and the bard's genius never shows itself more admirable than in this complete mastery over both language and versification.

The natural result was that later poets, and foremost among them Otway, Thomson, Young and Cowper, looked up to Milton as to their guide and teacher in these matters. Shakespeare's dramatic line, wonderfully suited as it was to the changing conditions of the stage, appeared too unsettled for imitation. Here, however, was heroic verse which, after rejecting the excessive freedom of former times, was subject to definite rules and yet retained such rhythmical pliancy as fitted it for the loftiest flights of creative fancy. Henceforth the instrument needed for future developments was ready to hand, a model for the coming generations had been set up, and those latter-day critics who, in their eagerness for novelty, have accepted the intrusion of trisyllabic feet in a measure which has never allowed them, might do worse than revert to the early tradition of the line and follow faithfully in Milton's steps.

WALTER THOMAS.

SPENSER AND LADY CAREY.

NOTHING in any published account of Spenser's life would lead one to suspect that his acquaintance with Lady Carey differed markedly from his friendship, and avowed kinship, with the other daughters of Sir John Spencer. Indeed, his editors and biographers one after another content themselves with stating, at the most, that he dedicated to her *Muiopotmos* and the appended series of *Visions*, addressed to her a sonnet prefixed to the *Faerie Queene*, and alluded to her under a pastoral name in *Colin Clout*. Attentive reading of these passages, however, discloses a yet unwritten chapter of Spenser's life. Though obscured to the world of letters by his 'rurall musicke' in praise of the pastoral Rosalind, the poet's service of his courtly mistress was no less conspicuously avowed than Sidney's devotion to Stella.

Of the seventeen sonnets prefixed to the *Faerie Queene* only two are addressed to a lady. Of these, the first may be set aside, since it honours Lady Mary (*née* Sidney), Countess of Pembroke, chiefly for her brother's sake, as Spenser makes unmistakeable by saying:

> Remembrance of that most Heroicke spirit...
> Bids me, most noble Lady, to adore
> His goodly image, living evermore
> In the divine resemblance of your face.

Accordingly, he presents the sonnet as not his gift, but Sidney's, concluding: 'Vouchsafe from him this token in good worth to take.' No lady could misinterpret the guardedness of a compliment so impersonal.

In the sonnet to Lady Carey, on the other hand, Spenser's tone is intimately personal and gallant. Declaring:

> Ne may I, without blot of endless blame,
> You, fairest Lady, leave out of this place,

he proclaims it his duty to 'adorne these verses base' with 'remembrance,' not of her brothers or sisters or husband, but:

> Remembrance of your gracious name
> Wherewith that courtly garlond most ye grace
> And deck the world.

To say that she *most* graced Elizabeth's court, let alone the world, would seem sufficient praise; but Spenser pronounces his sonnet inadequate to express her captivating charms:

> Not that these few lines can in them comprize
> Those glorious ornaments of hevenly grace
> Wherewith ye triumph over feeble eyes
> And in subdued hearts do tyranyse.

The publicity of this exceptional homage rendered it doubly significant: for the *Faerie Queene* appeared under the Queen's patronage as the master epic of her greatest poet. Lady Carey's name was thus associated uniquely with the names of the Queen's greatest officers and nobility. That Spenser chose from the court one lady of comparatively inferior rank to distinguish with so marked a compliment, designated him, in that centre of love-gallantry, as her enamoured servant.

The etiquette of the court demanded that he should so serve a lady[1]: for, as he makes Colin Clout, recounting his stay at court, say:

> Love most aboundeth there.
> For all the walls and windows there are writ,
> All full of love, and love, and love my deare,
> And all their talke and studie is of it.
> Ne any there doth brave or valiant seeme,
> Unlesse that some gaye Mistresse badge he beares:
> Ne any one himselfe doth ought esteeme,
> Unlesse he swim in love up to the eares. (*C.C.*, 775—82.)

Amid this universal enamourment, which he does not overstate, it was to be expected that Spenser should profess himself a devotee of the lady whom he had selected as the 'fairest.' He does make this profession publicly and explicitly. In the letter of dedication prefixed to *Muiopotmos*, he declares to Lady Carey: 'I have determined to give myself wholy to you, as quite abandoned from my selfe, and absolutely vowed to your services.' In 1590, therefore, Spenser was known to the court as Lady Carey's professed servant.

Courtly usage demanded that the servant should address to his mistress verses portraying his devotion. In a dedicatory letter to Lady Carey, Thomas Nash (*Christ's Tears over Jerusalem*, 1593) expressed his disgust at the annoying importunity of this demand, saying: 'I hate these female braggarts that contend to have all the muses beg at their doors.' Lady Carey, by implication, was one who did not need so to 'contend.' At all events, Spenser promised in concluding his sonnet in her honour, that his 'good will':

> Whenas timely meanes it purchase may,
> In ampler wise it selfe will forth display.

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[1] This topic is discussed in my dissertation on *Elizabethan Courtly Love*, Gore Hall, Cambridge, Mass.

This looked-for opportunity to celebrate at greater length the 'glorious ornaments' of Lady Carey, had presented itself before the time of dedicating to her *Muiopotmos* (1590): for there he states that his 'poore service...taketh glory to advance your excellent partes and noble vertues, and to spend it selfe in honouring you.' His promise was, therefore, already in course of fulfilment.

The work in which Spenser so honoured Lady Carey cannot have been *Muiopotmos.* Exquisite as the poem is, its obscure allegory of a male spider ensnaring and destroying a male butterfly cannot be construed to 'advance' her 'excellent partes and noble vertues.' Neither can the series of visions appended to it and addressed to her be made to serve that purpose; while, in them, moreover, Spenser renews his promise of some further work, saying:

> Such as they were (faire ladie!) take in worth,
> That when time serves may bring things better forth.
> (*Vis. W. Van.*, I.)

So, too, his allusion to her in *Colin Clout* (548—64), though sufficiently laudatory, cannot be magnified as a work in her praise. The sixteen lines here are little 'ampler' than the fourteen of his sonnet[1].

The existence of some adequate expression of Spenser's service of

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[1] The passage in *Colin Clout* (536—71) in which Spenser praises under the names of Phyllis, Charillis and Amaryllis:

> The sisters three,
> The honor of the noble familie [Althorp Spencer]
> Of which I meanest boast myself to be,
> And most that unto them I am so nie;

has been misunderstood because he designates Phyllis as 'eldest of the three.' This led to her identification with Lady Carey, who was older than the two (of five other) sisters to whom Spenser dedicated poems. Amaryllis, since he styled her the 'youngest' and the 'highest in degree,' is certainly Alice, the sixth daughter, whose husband was regarded as a possible heir to the throne. Between Phyllis and Charillis there can be no doubt that Charillis represents Lady Carey. Her unique name, unlike the commonplace Phyllis and Amaryllis, challenges attention, and proves to be, like Rosalind, an anagram of the 'very name' of his mistress. 'Charillis' = 'Elis. Carey.' Even if Spenser did not originate this anagram, he must have observed it, and could not have been so inept as to apply it to her sister. Apart from this, the characterization 'bountifull Charillis' agrees with Spenser's letter to 'The La. Carey. Most brave and bountifull La.' and his allusion to her 'bounteous brest' (*Vis. Petr.*, VII)—this term not occurring in connection with either of her sisters. Again, the disproportion in assigning to Phyllis four lines as against sixteen to Charillis accords with Spenser's praise of Lady Carey alone in the sonnet prefixed to the *Faerie Queene.* The disproportion of tone is greater, especially since he styles Charillis the 'paragon' (a term reserved by courtiers for the highest praise. Cf. Puttenham, ed. Arber, p. 241), and the 'primrose' (which E. K. in the October eclogue glosses 'the chiefe and worthiest.' Cf. also *Daphnaida*, 233—4). Finally, Spenser's praise of Charillis as 'the fairest under skie' accords with his sonnet: 'To the most vertuous and beautifull Lady,' and his envoi to the *Visions of Petrarch*: 'Though ye be the fairest of Gods creatures.' Tact, as well as ignorance, might account for Spenser's appraisal of his mistress's age. Again, by Phyllis, he may have meant her elder sister Margaret, who lived in Cambridgeshire, while Spenser studied at Cambridge.

Lady Carey is not open to doubt: for the statement of another author confirms Spenser's indications that he composed writings in her honour. Thomas Nash, in his letter of dedication prefixed to *Christ's Tears over Jerusalem* (1593), reminds Lady Carey that: 'Divers well-deserving poets have consecrated their endeavours to your praise. Fame's eldest favorite Master Spenser, in all his writings he prizeth you.' Even if Nash had seen *Colin Clout*, which remained unpublished till 1595, Spenser's thirty lines and brief letter are too slight to be termed 'all his writings.' Compared with Sidney's offerings to Stella, these seem mere byplay. Where, then, did Spenser 'in ampler wise' celebrate his courtly mistress?

The literary form just coming into vogue for this purpose was the sonnet sequence, and in view of the impetus given to the fashion in these years, especially by the publication of *Astrophel and Stella*, it would be remarkable if Spenser, the leading court poet, had not engaged in the production of such a series of love sonnets as he actually composed. The *Amoretti* record his courtship of 'my love, my life's last ornament' (*Am.*, 74). Here, if anywhere, his service endeavours to 'spend it selfe in honouring' a lady whose 'glorious ornaments' do:

> Triumph over feeble eyes,
> And in subdued hearts do tyranyse.

In fact, Spenser almost echoes these words:

> See how the tyrannesse doth joy to see
> The huge massácres which her eyes do make;
> And humbled harts brings captive. (*Am.*, 10.)

The *Amoretti*, to all appearances, constitute an appropriate fulfilment of his pledge and record of his courtly service. That they were written for this purpose it would be natural, in the absence of contrary evidence, to surmise: for Spenser therein designates his mistress's name as Elizabeth (*Am.*, 74). Elizabeth was the given name of Lady Carey. The court circle in general, and Thomas Nash in particular, must have regarded the sequence as a tribute to her. If her name had been printed in full above the sonnet or the letter addressed to her, probably this identification would have been long since proposed and never controverted.

With admirable unanimity, the editors and biographers of Spenser have agreed in assuming that Spenser's mistress in the *Amoretti* must have been the lady whom he married; that, since the *Amoretti* were published in one volume with the *Epithalamium*, therefore both must have been composed in honour of the same person, and must constitute the record of an unsophisticated courtship which terminated in marriage[1].

The insufficiency of this reasoning is shown by the absence of artistic unity in the compilation. Considered apart, poems could hardly be more artistic. But between them are strewn several trifling and unrelated epigrams. The *Amoretti*, instead of leading up to a marriage, terminate with the lover absent from his mistress after a dismissal in anger (*Am.*, 85—8). The *Epithalamium* contains an apology for the absence of other poems in honour of the bride:

> Song! made in lieu of many ornaments,
> With which my love should duly have been dect. (*Envoi.*)

If the volume were a compilation of poems in her praise, this apology would be pointless. Moreover, Spenser adjured his song:

> Be unto her a goodly ornament,
> And for short time an endless moniment. (*Envoi.*)

'Short time' cannot apply to the courtship represented in the *Amoretti*, in which the lover's suit is long denied (cf. *Am.*, 67). The chronology of the sequence, marked by two successive New Year's days (*Am.*, 4, 62), requires at least a year and a half. If associated with the *Epithalamium*, which dates the marriage on St Barnaby's day (*Epi.*, 264—6), the courtship would have to include in this 'short time' still another year: for the lovers' misunderstanding (*Am.*, 85), long after Easter (*Am.*, 68), does not allow before June eleventh the extended period of absence concluding the *Amoretti*:

> Since I did leave the presence of my love,
> Many long weary dayes I have outworne. (*Am.*, 86.)

More conclusive yet is the formal opening sonnet of the *Amoretti*. This must have been written with the sequence in mind: for the writer addresses 'Ye leaves' in which she may read 'the sorrows of my dying spright.' If the *Amoretti* and *Epithalamium* formed a whole, this sonnet should not speak only of 'sorrows' without reference to 'lasting happiness' (*Epi.*, 419). Actually, its phrase 'My soules long-lacked foode' forecasts the final parting, and accords with the conclusion of the sequence:

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[1] This traditional assumption is found as early as 1751 (*Spenser's Works*, with life by Thomas Birch, I, xviii), and has been maintained without arguments excepting those of Todd (ed. 1805, I, cxi), who challenges any doubter to say why Spenser published the poems together. Question for question, why did he publish together the unrelated *Colin Clout* and elegies on Astrophel? Todd's only other argument, a comparison of *Am.*, 64 and *Epi.*, 172—8, in which Spenser describes his mistress and his bride, has no force, since the eyes of the one are like 'pinks,' of the other like 'sapphires.' The points of resemblance amount to a white breast and red cheeks and lips.

> Dark is my day, whyles her fayre light I mis,
> And dead my life that wants such lively blis.

Had Spenser composed and published this volume of poetry as a record of his antenuptial courtship, it is highly improbable that he would have failed to bridge the chasm between the lovers' separation and their marriage. If in anything, his work excels in delicate transitions. There is, consequently, no internal evidence to show that the bride of the *Epithalamium* must have been identical with the mistress of the *Amoretti*.

The autobiographical character of the *Epithalamium* should not be pressed too closely. The poem is written throughout in the present tense, in the manner of a vision rather than a record of actual events. But if it be autobiographical, Spenser need not have written, or need not have finished, this celebration of his marriage at the precise period of his wedding. The slender evidence of date, St Barnaby's day (in a year anterior to 1595), is vitiated by its school-day associations as the great election day at the Merchants' Taylors', and by the obvious literary purpose which it serves in suggesting the transition from day to night (*Epi.*, 270—5).

Spenser's marriage, in fact, is likely to have preceded by some years the registration of his *Epithalamium* (Nov. 19, 1594): for in 1598, at the time of his final return to London, he had four, possibly five, children. Sylvanus, the eldest, appears in several legal documents in 1605—6 and one in 1603—with no evidence that he is not acting for himself—which suggests that he was born several years before 1594. It is probable, therefore, that Spenser, when paying court to Lady Carey, was already married, paralleling in this as in other respects the example of Sidney and Stella. In this case the *Amoretti* could not have been addressed to the lady who became his wife: for the publisher stated that they were 'written not long since.'

Nevertheless, Grosart, accepting without criticism his predecessors' assumption that the name of Spenser's wife must have been Elizabeth, because that is the name of his mistress in the *Amoretti*, has published evidence which identifies this inferred Elizabeth with an obscure Elizabeth Boyle[1]. Therefore Spenser had in his life not three, but four, Elizabeths.

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[1] A. B. Grosart: *Works of Spenser*, 1882—4, I, 197—201, 556—8. See further *The Lismore Papers*, Ser. I, Vol. I, Introd., pp. xiv—xviii. I hope to discuss this topic later. At present I can only say that the evidence, as printed by Grosart, warrants his hypothesis that Spenser married Elizabeth Boyle.

Most happy letters! fram'd by skilfull trade,
With which that happy name was first desyned,
The which three times thrise happy hath me made,
With guifts of body, fortune, and of mind.
The first my being to me gave by kind,
From mother's womb deriv'd by dew descent:
The second is my sovereigne Queene most kind,
That honor and large richesse to me lent.
The third, my love, my lifes last ornament,
By whom my spirit out of dust was raysed:
To speake her prayse and glory excellent,
Of all alive most worthy to be praysed.
    Ye three Elizabeths! for ever live,
    That three such graces did unto me give. (*Am.*, 74.)

If by this third Elizabeth Spenser meant Grosart's Elizabeth Boyle, surely he had become strangely neglectful of his courtly mistress. Had he forgotten:

Those glorious ornaments of hevenly grace
Wherewith ye triumph over feeble eyes,
And in subdued harts do tyranyse.

For one who had 'determined to give my selfe wholy to you, as quite abandoned from my selfe, and absolutely vowed to your services,' he had shown himself a most undutiful servant. In return for the 'excellent favours' received from this 'bountifull' kinswoman, he had proved shamelessly ungenerous in excluding her from his tribute of praise[1]. From the point of view of mere expediency, he had committed an unnecessary blunder in antagonizing one of the great court patronesses (related by marriage to the Queen): for inevitably the literary circles of London must have taken this Elizabeth to mean Lady Carey, and the ensuing discovery that she had been deserted for another upstart Elizabeth must have proved humiliating. Spenser had then repaid Lady Carey, not with his promised work in her praise, but with an ironical subterfuge.

The only present escape from this dilemma lies in concluding that Spenser had already married Elizabeth Boyle at the time of his courtship of Lady Carey. Silence concerning his wife would have been necessary: for he could not name his wife and his love in the same sonnet as different persons. Spenser's marriage by this time, at an age past thirty-five, has already been shown to be probable, and nothing in Grosart's identification contradicts this view. If Spenser was already married, the *Amoretti* must have been addressed to his courtly mistress.

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[1] If the disdainful Rosalind were named Elizabeth (cf. *Anglia*, Jan., 1908, pp. 72—104), there would be some point in excluding her from those who 'such graces did unto me give.'

Grosart, however, supposes, from the publisher's description of the sonnets as 'written not long since,' that the marriage must have taken place on June 11, 1594, and that the *Amoretti* were written after Spenser's return to Ireland. Apart from the probability that Spenser's eldest son was born before this time, Grosart's theory involves a serious difficulty from a merely literary point of view. It is almost incredible that Spenser, while waiting for more than a year about the court in London, should not have engaged in the composition of love sonnets. He was then experimenting with the sonnet form in *The Ruins of Rome* and his three series of *Visions* appended to *Muiopotmos* (1590). He was stimulated by the contemporary publication of *Astrophel and Stella* and by the similar sonnets of Watson and of Daniel, whose work he said: 'Doth all afore him far surpasse' (*C.C.*, 417). He was given occasion by his courtly service of Lady Carey, and his promise to display her 'glorious ornaments.' In all probability he did so, as both Nash and himself testify. In this event the utmost that can be claimed for Elizabeth Boyle in the *Amoretti* is the appending or interspersing of later sonnets. Grosart himself suggests that the *Amoretti* contain material addressed to his former mistress (*i.e.* Rosalind). Such reserving of bake-meats was probably not uncommon. Gascoigne in *The Adventures of F. J.* portrays an instance: 'Marry peradventure if there were any acquaintance between him and that Helen afterwards he might adapt it to her name and so make it serve both their turns, as elder lovers have done before and still do and will do world without end.'[1]

The internal evidence, as regards the character of Spenser's love, is hardly available for argument. Those critics who consider the sequence a Platonizing expression of sophisticated passion will accept Lady Carey without hesitation; those who regard it as an outpouring of natural pre-marital affection must be disconcerted. J. B. Fletcher, who in conversation with me adopted the word *domestic*[2] to express the individual character of this sequence, strikes, I think, a happy mean: for his word accords with the freedom of a kinswoman's household and with Spenser's occasional playfulness (*Am.*, 10, 37). But here *tot homines quot sententias*!

Again, in matters of detail, the conventionality of the language of love and the inevitable repetition of similar expressions, though the ladies be dissimilar, invalidate many resemblances, such as the use of the word *paragon* (*Am.*, 15; *C.C.*, 548), Spenser's vow of service couched in like terms (*Am.*, 81, letter pref. to *Muiopotmos*), his descriptions of his love's *temperance* (*Am.*, 13; *C.C.*, 551), and his allusions to 'the maker' (*Am.*, 8, 9, 24; *C.C.*, 541). Perhaps the most striking of these is an echo of his sonnet to Lady Carey. Spenser had excused his insufficiency to describe her 'glorious ornaments' by saying: 'For thereunto doth need a golden quill.' The 'bountifull' Lady Carey must have supplied him: for in the *Amoretti*:

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[1] Hazlitt, ed. Gascoigne, I, 448.

[2] I should prefer *companionable*.

Her worth is written with a golden quill
That me with heavenly fury doth inspire. (*Am.*, 84.)

In one matter, however, the internal evidence appears incontestable. The Elizabeth of the *Amoretti* has been long since correctly identified[1] with the fourth Grace whom Spenser introduced in *The Faerie Queene* (6. 10. 10—28) as the love of Colin Clout, of whom he says:

She made me often pipe, and now to pipe apace.
(*F.Q.*, 6. 10. 27.)

Two further circumstances make the identity clear. In each case the beloved is described as of the 'meane' or middle class (*Am.*, 80; *F.Q.*, 6. 10. 27) and as being the 'handmayd' of the Faerie Queene (*Am.*, 80; *F.Q.*, 6. 10. 28). The idea of portraying his beloved as a fourth Grace appears first in *The Shepheards Calendar*, where Colin so portrays the Queen. He never uses the word *grace* (except in the sense of favour) in connection with Rosalind. He never applies it to the bride of the *Epithalamium*, though the Graces dance at her wedding. On the other hand he uses it repeatedly in the *Amoretti*:

So goodly giftes of beauties grace! (*Am.*, 31.)

When on each eyelid sweetly doe appeare
An hundred Graces as in shade to sit. (*Am.*, 40.)

The word appears almost invariably in connection with Lady Carey (never with either of her sisters). Her 'gracious name' and 'hevenly grace' that 'grace' the court is the theme of Spenser's sonnet to her. Her 'wonted graciousness' is appealed to in his letter, and he presumes to 'grace' his verses, dedicating them to her 'name.' Her 'hevenly grace' once more appears in the envoi to his *Visions of Petrarch*. It does not appear in *Colin Clout* in connection with Charillis. But the *h*[2] in the name *Charillis*, as an anagram on *Carey*, becomes intelligible when associated with χάρις, grace. 'E. K.' in glossing the April eclogue states that the fourth grace was 'called Charites,' and the resemblance is strengthened by his description of the Graces as 'goddesses of all bountie' and 'bountifull'—a trait which Spenser repeatedly stresses in Lady Carey (see foot-note, p. 259). The fourth Grace thus intervenes to establish the identity of Lady Carey and the Elizabeth of the *Amoretti*: for Lady Carey as one of the 'courtly garlond' of Queen Elizabeth was a 'handmayd' of the Faerie Queene; and as the wife of a knight, not yet a lord, belonged to the 'meane' rather than the noble classes. Moreover, the term 'countrey lasse' applied (more or less conventionally) to the fourth Grace (*F.Q.*, 6. 10. 26), applies to Lady Carey, who held the estate of Herstwood in Great Sapham near Bury St Edmunds. Still more confirmation is furnished by the following parallel:

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[1] By Upton: *Works of Spenser*, 1758, I, xix.
[2] Cf. also Helice (*Am.*, 34) as a play on Elizabeth.

> Of all the shepheards daughters which there be,
> And yet there [at the court] be the fairest under skie,
> Or that elsewhere I ever yet did see,
> A fairer Nymph yet never saw mine eye. (*C.C.*, 556—9.)
>
> So farre as doth the daughter of the day
> All other lesser lights in light excell,
> So farre doth she in beautifull array
> Above all other lasses beare the bell. (*F.Q.*, 6. 10. 26.)

This accords with his description of Lady Carey as 'the fairest of Gods creatures' (*Vis. of Petr.*, VII). He describes his bride (*Epi.*, 168—9) without such hyperbole.

Finally, the name *Amoretti* in itself suggests that the sequence was addressed to Lady Carey: for if she, as others addressed in prefatory sonnets, appears as a character in the *Faerie Queene*, she appears most probably as Amoret or Amoretta[1], the representative of chaste love (*F.Q.*, 3. 6. 4, 10). She stands in close association with Queen Elizabeth, not as her 'handmayd,' but as the twin of Belphoebe, who symbolizes the Queen's virgin chastity. The womanly chastity of Lady Carey, as that of Elizabeth, is everywhere emphasized (*Am.*, 8, 83). Amoret is represented as the foster child of Venus, who 'lessoned' her:

> In all the lore of love, and goodly womanhead. (*F.Q.*, 3. 6. 51.)
>
> In which when she to perfect ripeness grew,
> Of grace and beautie noble Paragone,
> She brought her forth into the worldes vew,
> To be th' ensample of true love alone,
> And lodestarre of all chaste affection. (*F.Q.*, 3. 6. 52.)

So Spenser styles Elizabeth: 'the lodestar of my lyfe' (*Am.*, 34). His play on the word *grace* is not confined to the passage last quoted. Of the Queen and Amoret he says:

> These two were twinned, and twixt them both did share
> The heritage of all celestial grace. (*F.Q.*, 3. 6. 4.)

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[1] Otherwise Amoret must be the Marquess of Northampton (cf. *C.C.*, 509—16).

Again he describes Amoret in the temple of love reposing in the lap of Womanhood:

> That same was fayrest Amoret in place,
> Shyning with beauties light and heavenly vertues grace.
> (*F.Q.*, 4. 10. 52.)

This reinstatement of Lady Carey disposes of all doubt that Spenser's love was 'chaste affection,' and in its serious as well as its playful aspects a pleasant and probably sincere compliment. Being a professed moralist, especially as regards love, Spenser could hardly have published verses of any other character addressed to a married kinswoman. Queen Elizabeth, who was strict in this matter (witness her castigation of Raleigh), seems to have approved of their relations: for the best authenticated portrait of Spenser is a miniature which once belonged to Lady Carey, having come to her as a legacy from the Queen[1].

PERCY W. LONG.

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[1] Several deductions concerning the dates of Spenser's birth (*Am.*, 60), the writing of the *Amoretti*, the rough completion of the *Faerie Queene*, Bks. IV—VI (*Am.*, 80), as well as the identity of Scudamour (? Carey), Calidore (Essex), Pastorella (Frances Walsingham), Meliboe (Walsingham), Coridon (Watson), lack of space prevents me from discussing.

The relation of Spenser's addresses to Rosalind and Lady Carey is complicated by a hitherto unnoticed sonnet in *Colin Clout* (466—79), in which Colin declares himself 'Vassall to one whom all my dayes I serve.' His language throughout closely resembles that addressed to Lady Carey. He is 'all vowed hers to bee.' Yet he names Charillis among others, and he testifies concerning Rosalind that 'hers I die.' *Colin Clout* was published under Spenser's supervision after the publication of the *Amoretti*. Rosalind and Elizabeth would therefore seem to have been the same:

> And I hers ever onely ever one;
> One ever I all vowed hers to bee,
> One ever I, and others never none. (*C.C.*, 477—9.)

Several circumstances lend plausibility to this view, chiefly Lady Carey's residence near Bury St Edmunds, while Spenser studied at Cambridge, her ancestral home at Althorp in the north of England, and her uncle's bestowal of a living upon Edward Kirke (probably 'E.K.'). Nevertheless, 'E.K.' states that the name *Rosalinde* is an anagram, and I see no way of making this answer the 'very name' of Elizabeth Carey. Apart from any identification, there is no sign that Rosalind ever was gracious to Colin's love suit (*C.C.*, 903–4), whereas Elizabeth admitted him to her grace (*Am.*, 67). Whoever Elizabeth may have been, Colin Clout is, therefore, inconsistent, unless in view of his phrase: 'Sith her [Rosalind] I may not love' (*C.C.*, 939), he ostensibly had resigned himself to the service of Elizabeth. In this case, the sonnet must refer to her.

THE ELIZABETHAN SONNETEERS AND THE FRENCH POETS.

In the present article I should like to draw attention to a few more cases of plagiarism illustrating the indebtedness of the Elizabethan sonneteers to their French contemporaries of the second half of the sixteenth century. Thomas Lodge has already been shown to have drawn largely on Ronsard and Desportes, and Samuel Daniel to a certain extent on the latter. This time the case concerns Daniel and Du Bellay more particularly. At least three of the sonnets from Du Bellay's *L'Olive* are reproduced almost verbatim in Daniel's sonnet-sequence *Delia*, published at the beginning of 1591—2, in self-defence probably against the action of the publisher Newman, who had issued surreptitiously twenty-eight sonnets and seven songs by Samuel Daniel and 'sundry other noblemen and gentlemen' at the end of his unauthorised edition of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella.* Two years later Daniel reissued the collection in revised and enlarged form under the title *Delia and Rosamond augmented.*

Sonnet XIV of *Delia*, which first appeared with some verbal differences in *Sonnets after Sidney's Astrophel*, except for the last two lines, is a literal reproduction of Sonnet X of Du Bellay's *L'Olive*, which I quote according to the edition of Marty-Laveaux:

Those snary locks are those same nets, my Dear!	Ces cheueux d'or sont les liens, Madame,
Wherewith my liberty, thou didst surprise!	Dont fut premier ma liberté surprise,
Love was the flame that fired me so near:	Amour, la flamme autour du cœur éprise,
The dart transpiercing were those crystal eyes.	Ces yeux, le traict qui me transperse l'ame.
Strong is the net, and fervent is the flame;	Fors sont les neuds, apre et viue la flamme,
Deep is the wound, my sighs do well report.	Le coup, de main a tirer bien apprise,
Yet I do love, adore, and praise the same	Et toutesfois i'ayme, i'adore, et prise,
That holds, that burns, that wounds in this sort;	Ce qui m'étraint, qui me brusle, et entame.

And list not seek to break, to quench, to heal	Pour briser donq', pour éteindre et guérir
The bond, the flame, the wound that festereth so,	Ce dur lien, ceste ardeur, ceste playe,
By knife, by liquor, or by salve to deal:	Ie ne quier fer, liqueur, ny médecine:
So much I please to perish in my woe.	L'heur et plaisir que ce m'est de périr
Yet lest long travails be above my strength;	De telle main, ne permect qui i'essaye
Good Delia! Loose, quench, heal me, now at length!	Glayve trenchant, ny froideur, ny racine.

Sonnet XIX of *Delia* is almost as closely modelled on Sonnet XCI of Du Bellay's sonnet-cycle. It may be noted that it was also first printed in *Sonnets after Astrophel*, with a few variants, such as 'treasures' for 'tresses' in the first line, etc.:

Restore thy tresses to the golden ore!	Rendez à l'or cete couleur qui dore
Yield Cytherea's son those arks of love!	Ces blonds cheueux, rendez mil' autres choses:
Bequeath the heavens, the stars that I adore!	A l'orient tant de perles encloses,
And to the Orient do thy pearls remove?	Et au Soleil ces beaux yeulx que i'adore.
Yield thy hands' pride unto the ivory white!	Rendez ces mains au blanc yuoire encore,
To Arabian odour give thy breathing sweet!	Ce seing au marbre, et ces leures aux roses,
Restore thy blush unto Aurora bright!	Ces doulx soupirs aux fleurettes decloses,
To Thetis give the honour of thy feet!	Et ce beau teint à la vermeille Aurore.
Let Venus have the graces she resigned!	Rendez aussi à l'amour tous ses traictz,
And thy sweet voice yield to Hermonius' spheres!	Et à Venus ses graces et attraictz:
But yet restore thy fierce and cruel mind	Rendez aux cieulx leur céleste harmonie.
To Hyrcan tigers and to ruthless bears!	Rendez encor' ce doulx nom à son arbre,
Yield to the marble thy hard heart again!	Ou aux rochers rendez ce cœur de marbre,
So shalt thou cease to plague, and I to pain.	Et aux lions cet' humble félonnie.

The above sonnet of Daniel is particularly interesting. Ben Jonson, who was at daggers drawn with the author of *Delia*, represented him on the stage as Hedon in *Cynthia's Revels*, and in a certain passage (v. 2) makes Crites say to Hedon: 'You that tell your mistress her beauty is all composed of theft; her hair stole from Apollo's goldy locks; her white and red, lilies stolen out of Paradise; her eyes, two stars plucked from the sky,' etc. This is evidently a pointed and mocking reference to the sonnet just quoted. How Ben would have rejoiced if he had been able to point to Daniel's source and openly accuse the man he called a 'verser' of plagiarism! Fortunately for Daniel, Jonson was ignorant of French and of French literature, as Drummond has stated quite bluntly in his *Conversations*. Mr Fleay who, I believe, was the first to show the identification of Hedon with Daniel, was also unaware that Daniel had plagiarised Du Bellay or any other French poet. Daniel's dependence on foreign models did not however escape the attention of all his contemporaries, and now that facts are coming to light, the lines in the *Return from Parnassus* (1601) have much more point than was hitherto believed:

> Sweete hony dropping Daniell doth wage
> Warre with the proudest big Italian,
> That melte his heart in sugred sonneting;
> Onely let him more sparingly make use
> Of others wit, and use his own the more,
> That well may scorne base imitation.

Again Sonnet XXIII of *Delia* faithfully reproduces Sonnet XCII of *L'Olive*:

False hope prolongs my ever certain grief,	Ce bref espoir qui ma tristesse alonge,
Traitor to me, and faithful to my Love.	Traitre à moy seul et fidele à Madame,
A thousand times it promised me relief,	Bien mile fois a promis à mon ame
Yet never any true effect I prove.	L'heureuse fin du soucy qui la ronge,
Oft, when I find in her no truth at all,	Mais quand ie voy' sa promesse estre vn songe,
I banish her, and blame her treachery:	Ie le maudy', ie le hay', ie le blâme,
Yet, soon again, I must her back recall,	Puis tout soudain ie l'inuoque et reclame,
As one that dies without her company.	Me repaissant de sa doulce mensonge.
Thus often, as I chase my Hope from me,	Plus d'vne fois de moy ie l'ay chassé:
Straightway, she hastes her unto Delia's eyes:	Mais ce cruel, qui n'est iamais lassé
Fed with some pleasing look, there shall she be;	De mon malheur, à vos yeulx se va rendre.
And so sent back. And thus my fortune lies.	La faict sa plainte: et vous qui iours et nuitz
Looks feed my Hope, Hope fosters me in vain;	Avecques luy riez de mes ennuiz,
Hopes are unsure, when certain is my Pain.	D'vn seul regard le me faictes reprendre.

A fourth sonnet, which is found in the *Sonnets after Astrophel*, but which was not reprinted in Daniel's authorised collection, also turns out to be a copy from the same French poet. It corresponds closely to Sonnet XXXVI of Du Bellay's *L'Olive*:

The only bird alone that Nature frames,
When weary of the tedious life she lives
By fire dies, yet finds new life in flames;
Her ashes to her shape new essence give.
When only I, the only wretched wight,
Weary of life that breathes but sorrow's blasts;
Pursue the flame of such a beauty bright,
That burns my heart; and yet my life still lasts.
O sovereign light! that with thy sacred flame
Consumes my life, revive me after this!
And make me (with the happy bird) the same
That dies to live, by favour of thy bliss!
This deed of thine will show a goddess' power;
In so long death to grant one living hour.

L'vnic oiseau (miracle émerueillable)
Par feu se tue, ennuyé de sa vie:
Puis quand son ame est par flammes rauie,
Des cendres naist vn autre à luy semblable.
Et moy qui suis l'vnique misérable,
Faché de vivre, vne flamme ay suyuie,
Dont conuiendra bien tost que ie déuie,
Si par pitié ne m'etes secourable.
O grand' doulceur! ô bonté souueraine!
Si tu ne veulx dure et inhumaine estre
Soubz ceste face angélique et seraine,
Puis qu'ay pour toy du Phénix le semblant,
Fay qu'en tous poinctz ie luy soy' resemblant,
Tu me feras de moy mesme renaistre.

On discovering that Daniel has so boldly plagiarised Du Bellay, I felt that the author of *L'Olive* must have other creditors among the Elizabethan sonneteers; and remembering that Spenser had, while yet a schoolboy, practised his hand on Du Bellay and subsequently rendered his *Antiquités de Rome* in the native tongue, I naturally turned my attention to the *Amoretti*. However, a careful examination of Spenser's collection and of the other Elizabethan sonnet-cycles failed to realise my expectations. Apart from Daniel, the only other English sonneteer of the time who drew on Du Bellay is B. Griffin in his insipid *Fidessa* (1596), Sonnet XLI being an exact imitation of Sonnet X of *L'Olive*:

The prison I am in is thy fair face!
Wherein my liberty enchainèd lies;
My thoughts, the bolts that hold me in the place;
My food, the pleasing looks of thy fair eyes!
Deep is the prison where I lie enclosed,
Strong are the bolts that in this cell contain me.
Sharp is the food necessity imposed,
When hunger makes me feed on that which pains me.

Ces cheueux d'or sont les liens, Madame,
Dont fut premier ma liberté surprise,
Amour, la flamme autour du cœur éprise,
Ces yeux, le traict qui me transperse l'ame.
Fors sont les neuds, apre et viue la flamme,
Le coup, de main à tirer bien apprise,
Et toutesfois i'ayme, i'adore, et prise,
Ce qui m'étraint, qui me brusle et entame.

Yet do I love, embrace, and follow fast,	Pour briser donq', pour éteindre et guérir
That holds, that keeps, that discontents me most:	Ce dur lien, ceste ardeur, ceste playe,
And list not break, unlock, or seek to waste	Ie ne quier fer, liqueur, ny médecine:
The place, the bolts, the food (though I be lost;)	L'heur et plaisir que ce m'est de périr
Better in prison ever to remain	De telle main, ne permect que i'essaye
Than, being out, to suffer greater pain.	Glayve trenchant, ny froideur, ny racine.

Ronsard and Desportes were the French poets for whom the Elizabethans showed a marked predilection, more especially the latter, whose hyperboles and strained conceits appear to have had a strange fascination for his contemporaries. Mr Sidney Lee has shown in the *Introduction* (p. lvi) to *Elizabethan Sonnets* that Daniel borrowed from Desportes, though I am inclined to think, after a careful camparison, that at least two of the sonnets he instances were suggested directly by Italian models. The model for *Delia* XV ('If a true heart and faith unfeigned') appears to me to have been Petrarch's 'S'una fede amorosa, un cor non finto,' rather than Desportes' translation of that piece, and the sonnet beginning with the words 'Why doth my mistress credit so her glass' (*Delia* XXXII), which Desportes filched from Tebaldeo's 'A che presti, superba, a un vetro fede?,' bears more resemblance to the Italian original than to the French refashioning of it. In the case of free renderings the question of determining the exact source is not always easy, as a good number of the Italian sonnets transplanted into the sonnet-sequences of the Elizabethan poets found their way into England by way of Desportes' imitations, the French poet's sonnet collections being little more than an anthology in French of the Italian Petrarchists from the great master himself to contemporaries such as Tansillo and Angelo di Costanzo. The only safe criterion, whenever an Italian prototype is found both in French and English dress, is a close comparison of the turns and phraseology of the three compositions. Thus if Daniel had any special model for his beautiful sonnet addressed to 'Care-charmer Sleep! Son of the sable night!' the closing lines point to Cariteo rather than to Desportes:

Amor, tu 'l fai; ché chi sotto 'l governo	O frere de la mort, que tu m'es ennemy!
Vive del regno tuo, non può dormire,	Je t'invoque au secours, mais tu es endormy,
Nè riposar, se non col somno eterno.	Et j'ards, toujours veillant, en tes horreurs glacées.

Still let me sleep! embracing clouds in vain;
And never wake to feel the day's disdain.

The opening lines certainly bear more resemblance to Desportes' version than to the original of Cariteo:

Somno, d'ogni pensier placido obblio,	Sommeil, plaisible fils de la nuict solitaire,
E de gli affanni uman tranquilla pace;	Pere-alme, nourricier de tous les animaux,
Perché fuggir di me tanto ti piace?	Enchanteur gracieux, doux oubly de nos maux,
Vien da ragione, o vien dal furor mio?	Et des esprits blessez l'appareil salutaire.

Care-charmer Sleep! Son of the sable night!
Brother to Death! In silent darkness, born!
Relieve my anguish, and restore the light!
With dark forgetting of my cares, return!

But even then it may very well be that Daniel had in mind the opening quartet of Giovanni della Casa's remodelling of Cariteo's sonnet:

O Sonno; o de la queta umida ombrosa
Notte placido figlio; o de' mortali
Egri conforto, obblio dolce de' mali
Sì gravi, ond' è la vita aspra e nojosa.

To give another example, Barnes' sonnet in which he apostrophises jealousy as 'Thou poisoned canker of much beauteous love' may just as well have been suggested by Sannazaro's 'O Gelosia, d' amanti orribil freno' as by the sonnet of de Magny in which the French poet was merely reproducing his Italian predecessor. The fact is that in many cases where the adaptation is very free or where the English poet is merely recalling reminiscences of his varied reading in French and Italian, it is impossible to determine the exact source. However, the original source should always be taken into account. The danger of not considering the original source, where it exists, is well illustrated by the following: since Emil Koeppel's note in *Anglia* XIII, 77—78, it has been taken for granted that the sonnet of Sir Thomas Wyatt beginning with the words 'Like unto these unmeasurable mountains' is derived from the sonnet of Mellin de Saint-Gelais, of which the opening line is 'Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine,' whereas Wyatt's sonnet is a literal translation of a well-known sonnet of Sannazaro which had served as a model for that of Saint-Gelais. Koeppel was led astray because he was not aware of the existence of the original source. I had intended at the time to publish this interesting fact, when I found out at the last moment that Mr Arthur Tilley had summarily alluded to it in a note in one of the early numbers of the *Modern Language Quarterly*. Thus the priority clearly belongs to Mr Tilley, but as his short note seems to have escaped the attention of all the English scholars I consulted, and as Koeppel's view appears still to be the only one current, I may be excused for going more fully into the matter[1] and for printing the three sonnets in question, the more so as it illustrates my point so admirably:

Voyant ces monts de veue ainsi lointaine,
Je les compare à mon long desplaisir:
Haut est leur chef, et haut est mon désir,
Leur pied est ferme, et ma foy est certaine.
D'eux maint ruisseau coule, et mainte fontaine:
De mes deux Yeux sortent pleurs à loisir;
De forts souspirs ne me puis dessaisir,
Et de grands vents leur cime est toute plaine,
Mille troupeaux s'y promenent et paissent,
Autant d'Amours se couvent et renaissent
Dedans mon cœur, qui seul est leur pasture,
Ils sont sans fruict, mon bien n'est qu'aparence,
Et d'eux à moy n'a qu'une différence,
Qu'en eux la neige, en moy la flamme dure.

Simile a questi smisurati monti
È l' aspra vita mia colma di doglie.
Alti son questi, ed alte le mie voglie:
Di lagrime abbond' io, questi di fonti.
Lor han di scogli le superbe fronti,
In me duri pensier l' anima accoglie:
Lor son di pochi frutti e molte foglie,
I' ho pochi effetti a gran speranza aggionti.
Soffian sempre fra lor rabbiosi venti,
In me gravi sospiri esito fanno:
In me si pasce Amore, in lor armenti.
Immobile son io, lor fermi stanno:
Lor han di vaghi augelli dolci accenti,
Ed io lamenti di soverchio affanno.

Like unto these unmeasurable mountains
Is my painful life, the burden of ire;
For of great height they be, and high is my desire;
And I of tears, and they be full of fountains;
Under craggy rocks they have barren plains:
Hard thoughts in me my woful mind doth tire;
Small fruit and many leaves their tops attire:
With small effect great trust in me remains;
The boisterous winds oft their high boughs do blast:
Hot sighs in me continually be shed;
Wild beasts in them, fierce love in me is fed:
Inmovable am I, and they steadfast;
Of restless birds they have the tune and note:
And I always plaints passing thorough my throat.

A perusal of these three compositions will at once disclose the fact that Wyatt's sonnet is not modelled on that of Saint-Gelais, but that it is an almost verbatim translation of Sannazaro's.

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[1] In a short paper on *The Migrations of a Sonnet* in *Modern Language Notes* for February, 1908, Mr J. M. Berdan of Yale attempts to show that Saint-Gelais' version of the sonnet in question is based on that of Wyatt and not on that of Sannazaro. This is *a priori* highly improbable and Mr Berdan's arguments do not convince me. It may be added that Professor Padelford in his *Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics* (1907) repeats Koeppel's error.

In the case of the numerous copies of Lodge from Desportes to which I drew attention in the *Athenæum* (No. 4017) there can be no doubt, as even when an Italian original exists, his servile reproduction of the French turns and phraseology make it obvious that he worked alone on Desportes' renderings of the Italian. The same is true of the large number of borrowings of Lodge from Ronsard which Mr Sidney Lee instances in his Introduction to *Elizabethan Sonnets* (p. lxviii). None of them reproduces the Italian prototype, but Ronsard's refashioning of it.

Whilst on the chapter of Desportes, I should like to emphasise the fact, which I have already briefly noticed in No. 4018 of the *Athenæum*, that Lodge and Daniel were not the only Elizabethan sonneteers who levied loans on the French poet. The dependence of Constable is hardly less remarkable, and apart from the general title of his sonnet-sequence which naturally suggests Desportes' *Diane*, there is considerable internal evidence that he, too, drew to a large extent on his French contemporary. I pointed out that Sonnet VIII of the 'Sixth Decade' of *Diana* ('Unhappy day! unhappy month and season!') is a literal translation[1] of Desportes' 'Malheureux fut le jour, le mois et la saison' (*Œuvres*, ed. Michiels, p. 32). Sonnet X of the same 'Decade' is likewise copied from another sonnet in *Diane*, though in this case the reproduction is not quite so close:

My God, my God, how much I love my goddess!	Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime ma déesse
Whose virtues rare, unto the heavens arise.	Et de son chef les trésors précieux!
My God, my God, how much I love her eyes!	Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime ses beaux yeux,
One shining bright, the other full of hardness.	Dont l'un m'est doux, l'autre plein de rudesse!
My God, my God, how much I love her wisdom!	Mon Dieu! mon Dieu! que j'aime la sagesse
Whose works may ravish heaven's richest 'maker.'	De ses discours, qui raviroient les Dieux,
Of whose eyes' joys, if I might be partaker;	Et la douceur de son ris gracieux,
Then to my soul, a holy rest would come.	Et de son port la loyale hautesse!
My God, how much I love to hear her speak!	Mon Dieu! que j'aime à me ressouvenir
Whose hands I kiss, and ravished oft rekisseth;	Du tans qu'Amour me fist serf devenir!
When she stands wotless, whom so much she blesseth.	Toujours depuis j'adore mon servage.
Say then, What mind this honest love would break;	Mon mal me plaist plus il est violant;

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[1] This sonnet of Constable is not an imitation of Petrarch's 'Benedetto sia 'l giorno e 'l mese e l' anno,' as might be expected at first sight.

Since her perfections pure, withouten blot,	Un feu si beau m'égaye en me brûlant,
Makes her beloved of them, she knoweth not?	Et la rigueur est douce en son visage.

Again Sonnet II of the 'Fifth Decade' was certainly composed in imitation of yet another sonnet of Desportes' *Diane.* The phraseology is somewhat modified, but the general idea and conclusion are identical:

I do not now complain of my disgrace,	Je ne me plains de vostre cruauté
O cruel Fair One! Fair with cruel crost:	A mes désirs injustement contraire;
Nor of the hour, season, time, nor place;	Je ne me plains que tout me desespère,
Nor of my foil, for any freedom lost;	Ny que le tans cede à ma loyauté.
Nor of my courage, by misfortune daunted;	Je ne me plains du vol que j'ay tenté,
Nor of my wit, by overweening struck;	Jeune Dédale, aux perils téméraire;
Nor of my sense, by any sound enchanted;	Quoy qu'il en soit, j'auray de quoi me plaire,
Nor of the force of fiery pointed hook;	Fondant aux rais d'une telle beauté.
Nor of the steel that sticks within my wound;	Je ne me plains que l'effort des jaloux
Nor of my thoughts, by worser thoughts defaced;	De moy me prive en me privant de vous.
Nor of the life, I labour to confound;	Je ne me plains que tout me fasse craindre;
But I complain, that being thus disgraced,	Mais, en souffrant tant de punitions,
Fired, feared, frantic, fettered, shot through, slain;	De desespoirs, de morts, d'afflictions,
My death is such, as I may not complain.	Las! je me plains que je ne m'ose plaindre!

In conclusion, I may add that the last sonnet of Giles Fletcher's *Licia* (1593) is a fairly close rendering of one in Ronsard's *Amours*:

O sugared talk! wherewith my thoughts do live.	O doux parler dont les mots doucereux
O brows! Love's trophy, and my senses' shrine.	Sont engravés au fond de ma mémoire!
O charming smiles! that death or life can give.	O front, d'Amour le trofée et la gloire,
O heavenly kisses! from a mouth divine.	O doux sourcis, ô baisers savoureux!
O wreaths! too strong, and trammels made of hair!	O cheveux d'or, ô coustaux plantureux
O pearls! enclosèd in an ebon pale.	De lis, d'œillets, de porphyre et d'yvoire!
O rose and lilies! in a field most fair,	O feux jumeaux, d'où le ciel me fit boire
Where modest white doth make the red seem pale.	A si longs traits le venin amoureux!
O voice! whose accents live within my heart.	O vermeillons! ô perlettes encloses!
O heavenly hand! that more than Atlas holds.	O diamants! ô lis pourprés de roses!

O sighs perfumed! that can release my smart.
O happy they! whom in her arms she folds.
Now if you ask, Where dwelleth all this bliss?
Seek out my Love! and she will tell you this.

O chant qui peux les plus durs émouvoir,
Et dont l'accent dans les âmes demeure.
Eh! dea! beautés, reviendra jamais l'heure
Qu' entre mes bras je vous puisse ravoir?

In writing another of his sonnets (No. XVII of *Licia*) Fletcher, who rarely descends to wholesale plundering, had probably in mind Sonnet XXXII of Du Bellay's *L'Olive*:

As are the sands, fair Licia, on the shore;
Or coloured flowers, garlands of the Spring;
Or as the frosts not seen nor felt before;
Or as the fruits that Autumn forth doth bring;
As twinkling stars, the tinsel of the night;
Or as the fish that gallop in the seas;
As airs, each part that still escapes our sight:
So are my Sighs, controllers of my ease.

Yet these are such as needs must have an end,
For things finite, none else hath Nature done:
Only the sighs which from my heart I send
Will never cease, but where they first began:
Accept them, Sweet, as incense due to thee!
For you immortal made them so to be.

Tout ce qu'icy la Nature enuironne,
Plus tost il naist, moins longuement il dure:
Le gay printemps s'enrichist de verdure,
Mais peu fleurist l'honneur de sa couronne.
L'ire du ciel facilement étonne
Les fruicts d'esté, qui craignent la froidure:
Contre l'hiuer ont l'écorce plus dure
Les fruicts tardifs, ornement de l'autonne.
De ton printemps les fleurettes seichées
Seront vn iour de leur tige arrachées,
Non la vertu, l'esprit et la raison,
A ces doulx fruicts en toy meurs deuant l'aage,
Ne faict l'esté, ny l'autonne dommage.
Ny la rigueur de la froide saison.

However, in this last instance it must be admitted that plagiarism from the French poet is not absolutely proven; Fletcher may be reproducing or paraphrasing an Italian original, unknown to me, which may have served as a model both for the French and English versions.

In reference to Daniel it may be recalled in conclusion that the sources of his sonnets have already been studied by Josef Guggenheim (*Quellenstudien zu Samuel Daniels Sonettencyclus Delia*, Berlin, 1898), and *en passant* by H. Isaac (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, XVII, 165—200). Both Guggenheim and Isaac show that Daniel's debt to the Italian poets, particularly Petrarch and Tasso, was not inconsiderable, but neither of them as much as suspects any French influence.

L. E. KASTNER.

WEST GERMANIC ‘I’ IN OLD ENGLISH SAXON DIALECTS.

I[1].

IN EWS. the vowel i may be regarded as fairly constant, if we except the cases in which it develops into io, eo, and with i mutation into ie, these developments being caused (1) by fracture before certain consonants, (2) by u and a/o mutation before liquids and labials, and (3) after w without reference to the following consonants. However, as Sievers suggested (*Angelsächsische Grammatik*, § 105, A. 5 and § 107, A. 6) and Bülbring definitely asserted (*Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 235, A.), a cause of further variation is found in the influence of various Saxon patois in cases where u and o/a mutation occurred before consonants other than liquids and labials (*e.g.*, nioðor[2], siodo, ðiosum, etc.). But it is probable that we have the influence of such a patois also in the frequent cases in EWS. where ie_2 appears instead of i_1. The following is an attempt to discover whether the occurrence of these ie_2 forms is due to the influence of a patois in which the ie_1 forms were a normal development, and, this being so, whether the influence of this patois extended to LWS.

In EWS. we find i_1 subject to a double variation; it appears (1) as io, due to the patois mentioned by Bülbring, and (2) as ie_2. In LWS. we again find i_1 subject to a double variation; we have (1) eo, io, arising under the same conditions as the EWS. io forms, and therefore probably due to the same patois, and (2) y_3 forms. But, as will subsequently be shown, there are no ie_2 forms[3]. If the ie_2 forms in EWS. are due to the influence of a patois, it naturally suggests itself that these y_3 forms in LWS. are due to the same cause. This is all the more probable as the LWS. y_2 forms are the normal development of the EWS. ie_1 forms, whether these arose from i mutation of eo, ea from e preceded by a palatal consonant, or instead of io, eo, owing to the so-called palatal mutation due to a following hs, ht (Sievers, *l.c.*, § 108, 1, Bülbring, *l.c.*, § 311). If then we should find LWS. y_3 forms occurring under the same conditions as EWS. ie_2 forms, it would be pretty safe to infer that the y_3 forms are a development of the ie_2 forms. R. A. Williams has suggested (*Die Vokale der Tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis, Anglia*, N.F., XIII, § 4) that there was some connection between the y_3 forms and the io forms, and Sievers (*l.c.*, § 105, A. 4, A. 7) seems to imply the same; it will subsequently be shown that this is probably the case.

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[1] For convenience the following notation has been adopted: i_1, constant i in Early and Late West Saxon (EWS. and LWS.); y_1, EWS. y $<$ West Germanic (WG.) u + i, j; ie_1, EWS. ie $<$ ea + i, j, etc.; ie_2, EWS. ie which sometimes occurs instead of EWS. i, and is the subject of the present investigation; y_2, LWS. y $<$ EWS. ie_1; y_3, LWS. y which sometimes occurs instead of i_1.

[2] In the examples quoted no distinction is made between ð and þ which are uniformly represented by ð.

[3] There are a few exceptions: (1) in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, where we find hiera, but this LWS. monument preserves various archaic forms; (2) in the *Blickling Homilies*, where we find hiene three times; and (3) the *Dialogues of Gregory*, where we find ie in wriexle, gesien, scyppendra, stiehtiendum, hiere (twice), but ie in the first and third of these stands for y_2.

We must first consider under what circumstances ie_2 forms arose in EWS.

II.

1. The following words occur in EWS. both with i_1 and ie_2 forms. The examples are all taken from Cosijn's *Altwestsächsische Grammatik*, §§ 27—41.

Cura Pastoralis: bilwite and derivatives, 30 times with i; bielwitlice, 1; birnan, 3, biernan, 3, birð, bireð, 10, bierð, 6; biteran, 1, bietre, 1, bieternes, 1; bringan, etc. Hatton MS. 17, gebrienge, Hatton MS. 1 (in the Cotton MS. only brengan); adiligien, etc. 4 with i, to dielgianne, 1; firenlust, 7, fierenlust, 4; geflites, etc., 5, geflietu, 1; gefriðode, 3, gefrieðode, 1; hider, 7, hieder, 1; hilpeð, 1, hielpeð, 1; hine and hiene occur innumerable times; i(l)lca, 9, ielce, 1; irnan, etc., 3, iernan, etc., 10; li(g)eð, 2, liegeð, 1; ungerisenlic(e), 7, ungerisun, 2, ungeriesenlice, 1; sint, 344, sient, siendun, 11; gesihð, forsihð, 23, gesiehð, forsiehð, 9; gesihst, 2, gesiehsð, Hatton MS. 1; asliten, tosliten, 3, toslieten, 1; tidernes, 3, tiedernes, tiederlic, 2; tieglan, 2; ðider, 12, ðieder, 1; geðigene, 3, geðiegene, 1; ðienga, 1, otherwise only with i; wille and its derivatives, 19 times with i and 16 with ie; winð, 5, wienð 2; awint, gewint, 5, wient, 2; wieste, 1, otherwise wisse, wisðe, wiste; compounds of wiðer, 19 times with i, once with ie; gewrite, etc., 20, awriten, Hatton MS. 48, Cotton, 30, gewrietum, 1, awrieten, Hatton MS. 3. *Orosius*: birnende, 1, biernende, 2; hine, 15, hiene, 237; irnan, etc., 8, iernan, etc., 4. *Saxon Chronicle*: hine, 18, hiene, 12.

On analysing these forms we find that in the *Cura Pastoralis* the ie_2 forms occur in most cases before or after labials and sonorous dentals (l, r, n). The ie$_2$ forms are most numerous in the unaccented word hine. There are seven words which do not show the influence of labials or sonorous dentals, namely, hider, gesihð, forsihð, gesihst, tidernes, etc., tiglan, ðider and geðigene. These, however, furnish us with only seventeen ie$_2$ forms; and perhaps those from seon hardly belong here (cf. Bülbring, *l.c.*, § 306 C.). *Orosius* only shows ie$_2$ forms in three words, all of which show the influence of the above-mentioned consonants, and of the 243 ie$_2$ forms, 237 occur in the unaccented hine. In the *Chronicle* the only ie$_2$ forms occur in hine.

2. Turning next to such forms as occur in EWS. with i$_1$, io (eo), and ie$_2$, we find the following: *Cura Pastoralis*: clipianne, clipað, etc., 17 with i, cliepiað, 1, cleopian, etc., 10 with eo, cliopa, etc., 7 with io; hira, hire, heora, hiora, hiera, hiere, all occur frequently; behionan; lifað, etc., 4 with i, liofað, 2 with io, ondliefene, 1 with ie; niðor and its derivatives, 5 with i, 2 with io, 4 with ie; tilian, Hatton MS. 22 with i, Cotton MS. 9 with i, Hatton, 4 with io, Cotton, 2 with io, Hatton, 2 with ie, getilian, tilað, etc., 26 with i, 8 with io, 7 with ie; witena (doctorum virorum), 1 with i, 1 with io, 1 with ie; witan, Hatton MS. 8 with i, Cotton, 3 with i, 1 with eo, 3 with io, Hatton MS. 5 with ie, Cotton MS. 6 with ie; derivatives of witan, 37 with i, 11 with io, 24 with ie, twi- in compounds, 5 with i, 2 with eo, 14 with ie. *Orosius*: hira, 7 with i, 276 with eo, 107 with io, 76 with ie; &liefene, 1, leofað, 1, endlefan, 3; niðer, etc., 4 with i, 1 with eo; witan, etc., 32 with i, 2 with eo, 1 with ie; twi-, 1 with ie. *Chronicle*: hira, 1 with i, 23 with ie; behinon, 1 with i, 1 with ie; tilgende, 1 with i; gewiton, 1 with i, wiotan, 3 with io.

Here again we find the influence of labials and sonorous dentals, and it is again obvious that io, eo and ie$_2$ forms are most frequent in the unaccented hira.

3. Finally we have to consider under what conditions y$_3$ is found for i$_1$ in EWS. *Cura Pastoralis*: byrð, 1 (see p. 279); abrycð, 1; clypian, clypien, 2 (see p. 280); cwyde, 1; fryccea, 2; hlynigen, 1; nyðemest, 2 (see p. 280); mycele, 1, and micel; aryson, 1, arison, 1; gesyhð, (videt), 1 (see p. 279); sylofr, 1, silofr, 1, derivatives, 1 with eo, 7 with io; symle, 7; syn-, in compounds 3 with y, i often; syððan, 1, 1 with ie, i often; sprycð, 1; aespryng, welspryng, 3; swyngean, 1, 8 with i; swyra (collum), 3 with i, 1 with io, se tydra, 1; to ðycganne, 1; ðysum, etc., 14 with y, ðys often, i often, ðeos, ðeosun, ðeosum, about 8 times, ðios, ðiosum, ðiosan, about 15 times. *Orosius*: byrnan, byrnende, 2 (see

p. 279); drync, 1; sylfren, etc., 3, 4 with eo, 2 with io; symble, 2; aespryngð, 1; ðis, etc., i often, 5 with eo, 5 with io. *Chronicle*: Bryttisc, 1; ylcan, 1; mycla, 1; to tymbranne, 1.

The majority of cases in *Cura Pastoralis* once more shows the influence of labials and sonorous dentals. Those which do not are gesihð, siððan, tidra, ðicganne, ðis, etc. Excepting ðis, these give us in all only 4 y_3 forms and one ie_2 form. ðis which occurs frequently, with y, eo, and io, is an unaccented word. *Orosius* also shows the influence of the above-named consonants, and the unaccented word ðis, though it does not occur with y_3, yet occurs with io, eo. In the *Chronicle* we find y_3 in every case in the vicinity of labials or sonorous consonants.

From the above analysis it appears that in EWS. ie_2 and y_3 forms are most frequent before or after labials and sonorous dentals, and the fact that a word is not accented seems to encourage the appearance of these forms. It is reasonable to assume that the phenomenon is due to the influence of some patois, in which, under the given conditions, i_1 regularly developed into a sound denoted by ie or y. As far as ie_2 forms are concerned, it is noticeable that there is not much agreement between the *Cura Pastoralis, Orosius* and the *Chronicle*. In the two latter ie_2 is only common in the two unaccented words hine and hira, and we may consequently conclude that in *Orosius* and the *Chronicle* the influence of the patois is for the most part restricted to unaccented words; whereas in the *Cura Pastoralis* the influence is to be seen not only in such cases, but also in the vicinity of labials and sonorous dentals. As far as the unaccented forms are concerned, it must be noted that these fall into two classes, words which are practically never accented, such as particles and prepositions, and words which occasionally have an accent, as pronouns and sometimes adverbs. Words such as hieder, ðieder, syððan, may have been unaccented, or the two first forms may have been influenced by nieðor. Other sporadic forms, such as geðiegene, etc., may be due to scribal errors[1]. It has been already remarked that where the consonantal influence and the absence of accent coincide (*e.g.*, hine, hira), the ie_2 forms are most frequent, and it may therefore be concluded that under these circumstances the influence of the patois was greatest. Geographically the influence does not seem to have been equally distributed, that of the consonants being more restricted and having little influence on the dialects of *Orosius* and the *Chronicle*.

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[1] According to Bülbring, *l.c.*, §306, A. 2, a certain amount of confusion between i and y seems to have existed among the EWS. scribes; we find i in words where we should expect ie or (later) y, *e.g.*, wirsa, wirð, etc.

III.

The following phonetic explanation of the phenomena discussed above has been suggested by R. A. Williams: i_1 was originally close i[1]; now EWS. ie_1 becomes LWS. y_2, which probably indicates that ie was first monophthongised and then became y, that is, $ie_1 > i_2 > y_3$[2]. This intermediate i_2 was not equivalent to i_1 otherwise it could not have developed into y_2. Since i_1 was close, we can only assume that i_2 was open, and consequently it follows that in Alfred's time ie_1 stood for open i.

Further, in the patois in question the influence of labials and sonorous dentals changed the original close i_1 in certain cases. This can only point to the fact that in such cases, either i_1 was diphthongised, or i_1 became open. When, however, we consider that the same change took place owing to absence of accent, the former alternative does not seem probable. Lack of accent at all times favours the formation of simple vowels rather than of diphthongs, and is more likely to have made a close sound open than to have converted it into a diphthong. Hence it follows that in the patois original close i_1 became open i under the influence of labials and sonorous dentals and absence of accent. But since original ie_1 had become open i, although the diphthong sign was preserved, it is easily understood that the open i forms of the patois were usually written ie_2.

The open i of which we have been speaking develops into y. It must therefore have been nearly related to y in sound, which probably explains the presence of these y_3 forms in EWS., since they occur mostly for ie_1 or for ie_2 (that is, for open i). They represent the tendency to write y for open i, which is consistently carried out when, at a later period, the approximation between the two becomes complete. The fact that ie_2 and later y_3 forms occur side by side with io, eo forms in many words, suggests that the ie_2, y_3 and io, eo forms have the same historical basis. If that be so, then most of the Saxon patois probably changed at an early date close i to open i under the conditions indicated above. After that they seem to have diverged into two groups, the one developing open i into y, the other changing open i into io (eo) by a/o and u mutation. Both these groups would appear to have had about equal influence on the WS. common speech.

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[1] See Pogatscher in *Quellen und Forschungen*, lxiv, pp. 62 ff.

[2] Sweet is also of opinion that in Alfred's time ie was reduced to a monophthong. See his *History of English Sounds*, §§421 and 474, and his *Anglosaxon Reader*, §59.

IV.

We must now turn our attention to LWS. The following is a list of the LWS. texts of which I have made use. I have in no case examined the MSS. themselves, but I have incorporated in my notes the results of the grammatical investigations of others. As will be seen, several of these texts belong to the transition stage between Anglo-Saxon and Middle English, but the LWS. literary language is well preserved and shows little trace of Middle English forms. It is noteworthy that in all the grammatical investigations to which I shall refer, the i forms with which we are concerned are treated as normal, whereas the y forms are given as exceptions.

1. *Blooms.* This is found in a single MS. of the twelfth century. According to W. H. Hulme, *Die Sprache der altenglischen Bearbeitung der Soliloquien Augustins* (Darmstadt, 1894), the dialect is WS., but there is an admixture of other dialectical forms. He remarks that there is much uncertainty as to the use of i and y for i_1, but an analysis of the forms brings out very clearly that y_3 appears most often in unaccented forms, and in all other cases we find it in the neighbourhood of labials or sonorous dentals. Moreover, the y_3 forms are more numerous than the i_1 forms in the unaccented words, especially in those in which the consonantal influence and the absence of accent coincide; i_1 seems quite constant where the patois could not assert its influence.

2. *Codex Wintoniensis.* The Charters date from 668 to 1046, but the Codex was probably compiled between 1130 and 1150. R. A. Williams, *Die Vokale der Tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis* (*Anglia,* N.F., XIII), suggests tentatively the influence of w, r and labials, especially of r, and also refers to the io, eo forms due to a non-WS. u, a/o mutation of i_1 as in some way conditioning the development of i_1 into y_3 (see above, p. 279). An examination of the forms he quotes leads to the conclusion that where y forms are not due to the influence of labials and sonorous dentals, there is a lack of accent except in one case: we find y once in tychelleache. With regard to this form, however, it may be noted that tiglan appears twice in the *Cura Pastoralis* with ie_2.

3. The LWS. *Gospels* based on four MSS. dating from 1000 to 1050. G. Trilsbach, *Die Lautlehre der spätwestsächsischen Evangelien* (Bonn, 1905), observes that y forms are not confined to the neighbourhood of labials. An investigation of the forms shows that y_3 also occurs in the neighbourhood of l, r, and n, that it is frequent in unaccented words and

that the form hym, for instance, where we have lack of accent and the neighbourhood of m, appears 290 times with y and once with i. In a few cases we find y under other conditions, *e.g.*, dyhte, dyhton, dysce, dyxsas, stycað, syt and its derivatives, tygelwyrhtena (see above), yt ('eats').

4. *The Blickling Homilies.* The MS. belongs to the end of the tenth century. According to A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling-Homilien* (Leipzig, 1899), the original dialect was a northern one, hence we find in addition to the usual WS. forms, a number of Anglian ones, but there are also traces of Kentish influence. Hardy notes that y is most frequent in the neighbourhood of labials, but it is clear that it also occurs near sonorous dentals and in unaccented words.

5. *Aethelred's Laws.* The investigation of A. Karaus, *Die Sprache der Gesetze des Königs Aethelfred* (Berlin, 1901), is based on a number of extant MSS.; the originals go back to about the year 1000, but the copies date from between 1060 and 1125. The dialect is Saxon in the main. Karaus shows that the y forms occur in the neighbourhood of labials and of liquids and nasals (r and m), and are pretty frequent in unaccented words. The only exceptions are forsytte and tyhttan and its derivatives.

6. *Knut's Laws.* L. Wroblewski, *Über die altenglischen Gesetze des Königs Knut* (Berlin, 1901), says that the text of these is based on four MSS. ranging from 1060 to 1125, and on several prints. He characterises the dialect as WS., but there are traces of Anglian, Kentish and southern dialects. He further points out that the y forms occur under the influence of labials and liquids; twice we find y_3 before n and we also have forms of tyhtlan which both he and Karaus hold to have been influenced by tyhtan. In unaccented words y is also frequent.

7. *Aelfric's Latin Grammar.* Here we have fifteen MSS. which mostly belong to the eleventh century; the earliest dates from about the year 1000, while one MS. appears to belong to the twelfth century. H. Brüll, *Die altenglische Latein-Grammatik des Aelfric* (Berlin, 1900), gives many instances of y in cases where there is lack of accent. He also shows that y is frequent in the neighbourhood of labials and r, but it is clear from an inspection of his list that it also frequently occurs under the influence of n and l. There are only two words in which y appears under other conditions, namely ytt and ytst.

8. *Aelfred's Laws* (Textus Roffensis). R. Münch, *Die Hs. H (Textus Roffensis) der Gesetzsammlung König Aelfreds des Grossen*

(Halle, 1902), says that the earliest original law dates from 604, but the copies range in date from 1130 to 1150. The dialect is on the whole uniform. He points out that y occurs in the neighbourhood of labials and in unaccented words; but an examination of the forms given shows that sonorous dentals have a similar effect. The only exception is staltyhtlan (see above p. 284).

9. *Abingdon Cartulary.* There is some doubt with regard to the date of the two MSS. F. Langer, *Zur Sprache des Abingdon-Chartulars* (Berlin, 1904), places them at the end of the twelfth and the middle of the thirteenth centuries. The dialect shows traces of Anglian and Kentish influences. Langer does not seem to have realised that the forms were due to special influences, but on investigating his list we find that y_3 occurs in unaccented forms, and in the neighbourhood of sonorous dentals. The only two exceptions are Gyddandene and hyd (?).

10. *The Dialogues of Gregory.* According to H. Hecht, *Die Sprache der altenglischen Dialoge Gregors des Grossen* (Berlin, 1900), the text is based on three MSS. of the middle of the eleventh century. The dialect of two of these is LWS. with a few Anglian forms; that of the third shows a good deal of Kentish influence. He draws attention to the fact that y appears very often for i, and states that this change is due to the influence of consonants and the lack of accent. He makes no suggestion as to what consonants exert this influence, but an examination of the forms he gives, shows that y_3 appears in the neighbourhood of labials and liquid dentals. The only exceptions are gestyhtad, tyhtað, tyðian, and geðygde.

11. *Aelfric's Heptateuch.* J. Wilkes, *Lautlehre zu Aelfrics Heptateuch und Buch Hiob* (Bonn, 1905), remarks that the text is chiefly based on one MS. which is supposed to have been written shortly after 1066. He does not suggest that y forms are due to any especial influence, but analysis shows that they occur in the neighbourhood of labials and sonorous dentals and in unaccented words. There are a few exceptions, namely, hystoria, tyccen, tygelan, ytst, ytt and ysopan.

12. *The Benedictine Rule.* W. Hermanns, *Lautlehre und dialektische Untersuchung der altenglischen Interlinearversion der Benediktinerregel* (Bonn, 1906), says the MS. of this dates from the first half of the eleventh century. He also fails to point out that the appearance of y is due to any particular cause, but on examining his forms, we find that in every case y_3 occurs in the neighbourhood of labials or sonorous dentals, or in unaccented words.

Although the i forms are the normal ones, y_3 occurs fairly often, and in all these LWS. monuments y_3 forms are found most frequently in the vicinity of labials and sonorous dentals and in unaccented words. There are certainly some exceptions, but they are few when compared with the cases in which the above-mentioned conditions hold[1]. I think we may thus fairly maintain that in LWS. y_3 appears normally only under the influence of labials and sonorous dentals on the one hand, and of the absence of accent on the other.

We have seen that in EWS. ie_2 (and y_3) forms tend to arise under certain conditions, and it seems justifiable to ascribe this phenomenon to the influence of some patois. A further investigation has shown that in LWS. y_3 forms occur under the same conditions as the EWS. ie_2 forms; this makes it appear highly probable that the LWS. y_3 forms are a development of the EWS. ie_2 forms. The patois in which this development took place exerted a comparatively small influence on classical EWS.; its influence on the language of the LWS. monuments was much more considerable, though naturally the effect was not in all cases equal.

MARIE A. LEWENZ.

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[1] It is possible that they are due to some special cause; they all seem to show the influence of d, t, s, or ð.

REVIEWS.

The Cambridge History of English Literature. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Volume I. From the Beginnings to the Cycles of Romance. Cambridge: University Press, 1907. 8vo. xvi + 504 pp.

The want of a scholarly history of English literature, which should be sufficiently inclusive and sufficiently detailed to make it a standard book of reference for students and teachers of English literature, has long been acutely felt. If proof of this fact were needed, it was supplied by the welcome which, we understand, has already been accorded the first volume of the *Cambridge History of English Literature,* preparations for a second issue of which had to be made within three months of publication.

The chief objection likely to be raised against this first volume, and possibly against the work as a whole, is perhaps the want of continuity and uniformity of treatment, due to the collaboration of writers of different styles and different points of view. After reading the first volume, the impression left is that of chapters on literature rather than a history of literary development. In treating of the 'beginnings' it is no doubt more difficult to avoid such disjointedness than in tracing subsequent lines of progress. But in any case a certain want of connected and uniform treatment is the inevitable outcome of syndicate work. On the other hand, the advantages to be derived from the collaboration of a large body of writers are obvious. Readers are presented with the results, garnered after special study in particular departments, by English, American and continental scholars; at the same time the editors can claim from contributors a consideration of other men's views and an impartial and all round handling of the problems under discussion such as would not necessarily be expected in a work bearing a single name. Again, the comparatively short space of time within which we may hope to see the *History* complete is no small asset. The present day is undoubtedly characterized by a widening and deepening interest in English literature. This is indicated on the one hand by the successful inauguration of the English Association and its extremely rapid growth during the first year of its existence, and, on the other hand, by the increased attention that the teaching of English is receiving from the educational authorities, so that English literature bids fair to take its place as one of the leading subjects in secondary schools. Hence the appearance of a History of English

Literature on a wider and more scholarly basis than has hitherto been attempted will be particularly welcome at this juncture to a very large circle of readers, and the usefulness of a work which aims at embodying the most recent results of research will be greatly enhanced by the prospect of not having to wait half a life-time before seeing its completion.

The book, to judge by the first volume, is not intended exclusively for scholars, but will certainly appeal to a wide circle of general readers. The chapters on the Arthurian Legend and the Metrical Romances and the West Midland Poems will be read most eagerly and appreciatively by scholars, but also with keen interest by many who have read few or none of the works discussed. One feature of the *History* which will be warmly welcomed by all scholars and would-be scholars is the addition of bibliographies to the several chapters. Though not intended to be exhaustive, they provide a most useful summary of the most important literature of the subject; for instance, the bibliography of the Metrical Romances, with its clear arrangement and useful notes and references, supplies a great deal more information than one would expect from a mere list of books and articles.

Among the chapters which, on account of their scholarly character, will be appreciated more particularly by the student, is that on 'Early National Poetry' by Mr H. M. Chadwick. In his discussion of the historical and ethnological problems connected with *Beowulf*, *Widsith* and other early poems, he shows the same learned and competent treatment as is found in his work on the *Origin of the English Nation*. The poem which receives fullest treatment is, of course, *Beowulf*. In pointing out the occurrence of many of the same persons and events in the Old English epic and in Scandinavian literature, Mr Chadwick accepts the identification of Beowulf with Böðvarr Biarki, the chief of Hrólfr Kraki's followers. He does not believe that the much later Grettis Saga, with its curiously similar story of the hero's slaying two monsters, is taken from the *Beowulf*, but that both have a common source in a folk-tale. In discussing the original composition of the epic, Mr Chadwick accepts the view that independent lays may have had a separate existence (perhaps in strophic form ?) before their incorporation in the epic, but in view of the Grettis Saga, would not assign Beowulf's fight with Grendel and the fight with Grendel's mother to two separate lays as has been done by most scholars following Müllenhoff. In any attempt to differentiate between earlier and later strata the only safe criterion is to be sought in the references to religious belief and observances. Mr Chadwick points out how largely the sentiments of the characters are coloured by Christian feeling, although the religious observances, for instance the burial of Beowulf, are almost entirely pagan. At the same time the references to Christianity are so closely interwoven with the tissue of the poem, both in the speeches and the narrative portions, that their insertion must be ascribed to the period of oral tradition, but to a time when large portions of the poem already existed in epic form. The presence of pagan ritual and Christian sentiment implies a heathen work which has undergone revision by a Christian. His omission to delete the description of heathen customs from the poem might be due to the fact that such customs were no longer practised and would not therefore excite such repugnance in the minds of Christian hearers as if they were still in vogue. The vagueness of the Christian sentiments and absence of definite doctrinal belief, in marked contrast to later Old English poetry, point to the conclusion that the Christian revision took place at an early date. In discussing the *Finnsburh* fragment Mr Chadwick makes the interesting suggestion (communicated in greater detail to a meeting of the Cambridge Philological Society) that the Hengist of the poem may be the Hengist who founded the kingdom of Kent.

The distinctive literary features of our oldest English poetry, and its underlying sentiment—its reflectiveness, its love of nature, particularly of the sea, its fatalism, its courage in the face of death—are briefly touched upon by Mr Waller in the first chapter of the volume; and Miss M. Bentinck Smith, who contributes the chapter on Old English religious poetry, writes with evident appreciation of the literary aspect of the subject. But her view that 'the depth of personal feeling in a poem like *The Dream of the Rood*,' and 'the melancholy sense of kinship between the sorrow of the human heart and the moaning of the grey cold waves that make *The Seafarer* a human wail,' are elements contributed to English poetry by the Celts, does not seem to be shared by Mr Waller (p. 2) nor Professor Jones (p. 275), both of whom cite the *Seafarer* as typically English in sentiment.

Miss Bentinck Smith writes interestingly of Cynewulf's poems, and the question of the authorship of doubtful poems attributed to him is treated fairly and without bias. She gives a glowing eulogy of the *Dream of the Rood* which she calls 'the choicest blossom of Old English poetry,' and inclines to the view that Cynewulf was the author—in fact, in her general estimate of the poet numbers it among his works—on account of the similarity of feeling in it and the *Elene*.

The Latin literature to the time of Alfred is treated by Dr M. R. James with much animation and distinction of style. He traces the rise of the two great schools of Latin scholars, at Canterbury and at York. One of the pupils of the former was Aldhelm, whose Celtic love of grandiloquence is amusingly illustrated by a literal translation of a paragraph from his prose. The greatest representative of the northern school, in fact of the whole period, was Bede, whose simple-minded devotion to truth and whose services to letters are brought out lovingly and reverently. Professor Thomas in concluding his chapter on Alfred says that in literature personality is of the utmost importance and that Alfred was one of the most personal of writers; but we hardly feel the contagion of the writer's own glowing admiration as we do in reading Dr James's tribute to Bede.

Perhaps one of the most erudite chapters in the *History* is the chapter on the English Scholars of Paris and the Franciscans of Oxford, by Dr J. E. Sandys. By dealing with the individual scholars and giving summaries of their works, from the point of view of scholarship, and by neglecting to trace the development of philosophic thought and the general intellectual movement of the time, an opportunity is missed of enabling less learned readers to realize in some measure the deep interest which belongs to a period marked by such rapid growth of thought. Very little is said of Abelard. Diderot's description of Roger Bacon as 'one of the most surprising geniuses that nature had ever produced, and one of the most unfortunate of men' is quoted, but we are left in the dark as to whether the writer endorses this opinion. There is, however, one Oxford scholar who seems to strike a responsive chord in Dr Sandys's heart, and that is the bibliophile Richard of Bury, who 'prefers manuscripts to money, and even slender pamphlets to pampered palfreys'; and who writes of his books: 'They are masters who instruct us without rod or ferule . . . if you approach them, they are not asleep; if you enquire of them, they do not withdraw themselves; they never chide, when you make mistakes; they never laugh, if you are ignorant.'

The chapter on 'Early Transition English' by Prof. J. W. H. Atkins deals with an interesting period of varied literary experiment. The arrangement of the material is good, and the writer shows his appreciation of the new forms and tendencies which emerge after the silence which had fallen on vernacular literature after the Norman Conquest. Unfortunately his style is not unimpeachable, as witness sentences such as the following: 'His use of the motive is, however, so far untraditional in that the nightingale, unlike the owl, did not appear in the ancient Physiologus.' 'Freshness and originality is, however, carried at times to excess in the vituperations in which the disputants indulge, when crudity and naked strength seem virtues overdone.'

Chapter XII on the Arthurian Legend, by Prof. W. Lewis Jones, and chapter XIII on Metrical Romances, by Prof. W. P. Ker, are among the most attractive in the volume and both convey a great deal of information on Middle English romance literature without allowing the reader's interest to flag. There is a certain amount of overlapping in chapters XIII and XIV and the literary judgments of the two writers do not always agree, *e.g.*, in the estimate of the romance of *Sir Tristram.*

Chapter XIX by Dr H. Bradley, on Changes in the Language to the Days of Chaucer, succeeds admirably in the difficult task of giving a thoroughly readable and interesting account of a number of facts which students of English are generally supposed to learn from dreary statements of sound laws and lists of inflections in English historical grammars, but which rarely leave as clear an impression, even after long hours of studious application, as a single intelligent perusal of this chapter should produce.

The editors expressly warn their critics that subjects which seem to have been omitted, may prove to have been deliberately reserved for later treatment, so it would be rash to dogmatize about what, at the first glance, seems a rather step-motherly treatment of Anglo-Norman literature. It is true the 'matter of France' is discussed in the chapters on the romances, and Mr Waller in chapter VIII says something of the more considerable debts of England to Normandy. On the other hand the *Chansons de Roland* receive only brief mention; Bishop Grosseteste's *Château d'Amour* is dismissed in three and a half lines; *Horn et Rimenhild* is not given in the index. The fact that Anglo-Norman architecture is the only entry in the index under Anglo-Norman—Anglo-French, France, French do not occur—tends to strengthen what may be an unfounded impression. Might not a few references to the most important passages bearing on Norman influence be inserted in the index?

Among what seem to the reviewer to be minor inaccuracies or discrepancies are the following:

p. 55. The subject of the *Elene* is said to be contained in the *Acta Sanctorum* of May 3; on p. 134 in the *Acta Sanctorum* of May 4. The latter statement is the right one.

p. 43. The reference to Walhalla is misleading, as the word does not occur in *Beowulf*.

p. 47. The statement that 'the old English *Genesis* B is based on the work of the author of the *Heliand*,' conflicts with the more guarded views expressed in the preceding paragraph as well as with Sievers's opinion that the Old Testament fragments discovered in the Vatican are not by the author of the *Heliand*; unless 'is based upon' means merely 'is a product of the same school of poetry.'

p. 56. The paragraph in smaller type is not an actual translation of the passage from the *Elene*, as its form might lead readers to suppose.

p. 108. The statement of the first paragraph that 'it was during the tenth and eleventh centuries that our language in its Old English stage attained to its highest development as a prose medium,' is difficult to reconcile with the next paragraph which describes the constant warfare during these centuries and the statement that 'in these times of struggle, letters and learning found, for a time, their grave, and long years of patient struggle were needed to revive them.'

p. 137. We are definitely told that *Judith* deals with the struggle against the Danes. The account given of the date and purpose of the poem on p. 143 is more ambiguous.

p. 177. Giraldus and Map are treated here and in chapter X. In both places cross-references would be useful; as also in the case of Nennius, who is treated in chapter V and chapter XII, and Layamon (cp. 265 f. and 234 f.).

p. 219. The translation of the lines from the *Proverbs of Alfred* in footnote 2 in taking *arewe* = *arrow* and not *caitiff* or *foe* differs from Morris and Skeat and the *New English Dictionary*. The meaning *foe* is supported by the similar lines in the *Proverbs of Hendyng*, quoted at p. 363.

p. 227. Mention is made of the Old English *Be Domes Daege*, *The Address of the Soul to the Body* and the *Vision of St Paul*. On looking up the latter work in the index, the only reference given, besides to this page, is to a Latin vision of St Paul.

p. 322. In the translation of the stanza from *Pearl*, the word which is rendered 'glades' is *glodez* which in the *N.E.D.* is translated 'a flash of light, a bright place in the sky.' This gives a better sense.

p. 338. The chronicle of Thomas Bek of Castleford, mentioned in the text, does not appear in the Bibliography. The MS. is described in the text as 'inedited.'

p. 362. Why is *bountyng* (bunting or yellowhammer) translated 'black bird' in footnote 7?

p. 439. *Studies on Anglo-Saxon Institutions* by H. M. Chadwick should be quoted under *The Laws.*

Whatever the superficial faults of the work, it is, as we have already stated, with warm gratitude to editors and contributors for their valuable enterprise and painstaking labour that we welcome this first volume and look forward with eager expectation to the appearance of its successor. When the whole work is completed it is much to be hoped that the editors will see the advisability of adding a small supplementary volume containing an epitome in connected form of the previous volumes. Such an epitome would add greatly to the usefulness of the work.

MINNA STEELE SMITH.

The Queen or the Excellency of her Sex. Nach der Quarto 1653 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. BANG. (Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas, Band XIII.) Louvain: A. Uystpruyst, 1906. 8vo. ix + 60 pp.

It was not till 1653 that appeared this 'Excellent old Play. Found out by a Person of Honour, and given to the Publisher, Alexander Goughe,' but it is clear that it must belong to an earlier though not very early date. Professor Bang's publication is of interest, for the play has never before been reprinted, and though the original is not of very great rarity, it is safe to suppose that few living persons have read it. And in spite of great defects it is worth reading. Controversy is likely to centre round the editor's tentative, but personally confident, ascription of the play to John Ford. A general characterization of the similarities of style in the introduction is supplemented by a not very striking collection of parallels in the notes, full discussion of the question being left over for another occasion, and, the editor intimates, to another pen. After a careful and repeated reading of the present play along with the whole of Ford's acknowledged works of a dramatic character, I have formed a fairly confident opinion on the subject, which is entirely at one with Professor Bang's. The style, the conduct of the plot, the peculiar treatment of jealousy owing a distinct debt to *Othello*, the preposterous *dénouement*, the extravagant romanticism, the miserable humour, are all Ford's. It is not Ford at his best, for the poetry nowhere reaches the highest level, but still his touch can be felt in a dozen passages. It cannot be a case of imitation, for some of it is Ford at his worst, and that no sane man would imitate. In the copy of the original belonging to the editor there is an inscription in a contemporary hand 'Compare this play with y^{e} dumb K^{t}:'. I so far disagree with Professor Bang that I do not think that the resemblance to which this entry points can be accidental, but a comparison of the *Queen* with Markham and Machin's play will bring out almost more than anything else its similarity with the minor works of John Ford.

W. W. Greg.

The Hector of Germanie or the Palsgrave Prime Elector. By Wentworth Smith. Edited by L. W. Payne, jr. (Publications of the University of Pennsylvania: Philology and Literature, vol. xi.) Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co., 1906. 8vo. 146 pp.

The *Hector of Germany* was printed in quarto in 1615, with the name 'W. Smith' on the title-page and 'W. Smyth' at the end. It appears that, though there is only one edition, there are two distinct title-pages. The copy in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania has both, one of which agrees with the Boston Public Library and the other with the British Museum copy. Why Mr Payne has only reproduced one is not explained: happily he has chosen the American variety, so that English bibliographers can place the two side by side. The text has stood a partial but careful testing fairly well: l. 279, *for* to be a Gentleman Porter *read* to be Gentleman Porter; l. 1117, for *Frence* read *French*; l. 1556, *for* hair *read* haire; l. 1562, *for* seldome *read* seeldome. Such spellings as *Uandome* and PALSGRAUE are, of course, absurd. The notes are rather meagre. The printing, like so much American University printing is bad: dirty press-work and careless composition; for instance, why, in the list of characters, should the name Brandenburgh be favoured with a special type all to itself?

The chief point of interest in connection with the play is the identity of the author. We learn from the epistle dedicatory that an earlier play by the same writer, entitled the *Freeman's Honour*, had been acted by the King's men 'to dignifie the worthy Companie of the Marchantaylors,' while the present piece, written in honour of the Princess Elizabeth's suitor, was performed, not by any regular company, but 'by a Company of Young-men of this Citie.' The earlier bibliographers, from Edward Phillips to Stephen Jones, gave the author the Christian name of William. Two William Smiths are known to literature about this time (one familiar as the author of *Chloris*, the other an obscure heraldic writer), but neither is likely to have had anything to do with our play. Later bibliographers of the drama, including the compiler of the *List of English Plays* issued by the Bibliographical Society, ascribe the play to Wentworth Smith, and it is with these that Mr Payne finds himself in agreement. It is, however, doubtful whether this ascription has much more to recommend it than the others. Wentworth Smith is known as an industrious stage hack in the pay of the companies connected with Philip Henslowe, and his name appears as part author of fifteen plays between 1601 and 1603.

There is no reason to suppose that a single line of this work survives. The only other plays that come into consideration are *Saint George for England* mentioned in Warburton's very questionable list and there ascribed to William Smith, an attribution which may reasonably be regarded with suspicion in view of the consensus of early bibliographers; and the *Foul Fair One* licensed by Herbert, Nov. 28, 1623, as 'written by Smith.' Now the authority of the early bibliographers on the question of a Christian name, in such a case as the present, in which we are quite unable to discover the ground of the attribution, must be regarded as negligible, and Mr Payne is quite right in rejecting it. But his acceptance of the ascription to Wentworth Smith is less satisfactory. We have on the one hand a W. Smith who is a hack collaborator in plays written for the regular companies from 1601–3, and again a W. Smith, obviously closely connected with the City guilds, who produces two plays more than ten years later. I hardly think that, considering the frequency of the name, we can with any reasonable certainty assume their identity. Several other plays were published in the seventeenth century with the initials 'W. S.', but Mr Payne very rightly concludes that they have no connection with Smith whatever: the initials were certainly intended to suggest another.

The Introduction is open to a good deal of criticism in detail, for the editor's judgments are more fluent than his acquaintance with his subject quite justifies. A little more familiarity with bibliography would have saved him (p. 48) from manufacturing a printer out of the initials of the Stationers' Register; while a more careful study of Henslowe's Diary and the allied documents would have warned him against assuming (pp. 12 and 42) that recorded payments to collaborators are proportional to their shares in the work, and a less exclusive reliance on Collier's edition would have prevented his perpetuating (p. 14) the forgery of the 'Northern Man.' The remark (p. 17) that the property-entries show that the title of the *Black Dog of Newgate* is not metaphorical, suggests that Mr Payne is unacquainted with the extant chapbook upon which the play was doubtless founded. It may also be remarked that it has been habitual to suppose that the silk flag of Sept. 4, 1602 (p. 49) was for the playhouse-mast, not for the performance; also that *Alphonsus of Germany* was printed in 1654 not 1645 (p. 37). Lastly Mr Payne will do well to be more careful with classical names: he has *Casino* for *Casina*, Clerumenæ for *Clerumenoe* and Diphius for Diphilus in three consecutive lines (p. 40).

W. W. GREG.

Early Sixteenth Century Lyrics. Edited by F. M. PADELFORD. (The Belles-Lettres Series: Section II.) Boston: D. C. Heath and Co.; London: G. G. Harrap, 1907. 12mo. lviii + 174 pp.

The texts in this dainty little volume consist of selections from Wyatt, Surrey, and the 'miscellaneous poets' of the court of Henry VIII.

Mr Padelford says that originally the design was to include the popular songs as well as the poems of the Courtly Makers in this volume, but space forbad. But it appears to be difficult to draw a hard-and-fast line of demarcation between the two, since many lyrics of this date are 'courtly' re-writings of 'popular' songs. In Wyatt's 'A Robyn, joly Robyn,' and in the anonymous 'Colle to me the rysshys grene,' the refrains are no doubt of popular origin, and the songs were tacked on to them (and presumably to their tunes), just as many of the secular lyrics were adapted for religious use, *e.g.*, *The Nut-brown Maid*, 'Come over the bourne, Bessy,' and many of the *Gude and Godlie Ballates*. Mr Padelford, however, has selected with taste, and a pleasant book is the result.

The main problem that faces an editor of early poetry, especially that of this particular era, is the question of spelling. Personally we fail to see what is gained by printing a verse of one of Surrey's best-known poems thus:—

> & en grene wawes when the ssalte ffloode
> dootht sswalle by rayges off wynde,
> a thwssande ffansys en that moode
> assales my resteles mynde:
> allas! now drenches my sswete foo,
> that w*ith* sspoyle off my harte ded goo,
> & lyfte me; but allas! whye ded he sso?

Such fidelity to a MS. in which 'the hand is very slovenly; words, and even lines, are scratched out, to be replaced by slightly different spellings,' may be all very well in a scientific contribution to *Anglia* or *Englische Studien*; but it seems to us to be the wrong policy in a charmingly printed and bound pocket-volume. Nor do we believe in the need for retaining the 'thorn' in printing lyrics subsequent to the fifteenth century.

However, Mr Padelford has been extremely careful; his departures from the original are minute, and the variants in other MSS. elaborately recorded. His notes, too, are excellent, and the parallels from Italian poetry striking. The Introduction is a useful essay on the history of the sixteenth-century lyric and the 'new company of courtly makers,' and contains much sound criticism of the poems themselves. He is only unfortunate in his period; it was not a brilliant epoch of English poetry, coming as it did after the unapproachable fifteenth century and before the gorgeous Elizabethan era.

F. SIDGWICK.

The Popular Ballad. By FRANCIS B. GUMMERE. (The Types of English Literature. Edited by Prof. W. A. NEILSON. Vol. I.) Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.; London: Constable and Co. 1907. Square 16mo. xvi + 360 pp.

This is the initial volume of another American series, which, from the list of announcements, promises to be fully as valuable as the various series of texts and literary studies that have recently appeared in

America. Types of literary form—Essay, Tragedy, Lyric, Novel, Saints' Legends, Pastoral, Allegory, Masque, Short Story—each is to be treated in a volume, as the product of the ages or of a particular age; and we anticipate, not only from the excellence of Professor Gummere's study of the Ballad, but from the names attached to the subjects—such as Professor Schelling's to the Lyric, and Professor Thorndike's to the Tragedy—that the series will be fully representative of the best American scholarship. In certain of these subjects, it might be claimed that English scholars would be heard with equal or even greater attention; but in Balladry, when a pupil of Professor Child speaks, we can only listen and admire.

Professor Gummere, after advising gentle readers to begin their reading with the second chapter, devotes his first, extending to more than a third of the whole book, to a recapitulation of the definitions and theories of origin of ballads given by previous scholars, accompanied by well-balanced criticisms of each. His final test of popular origin is 'incremental repetition,' a feature which he considers to be the original pattern of Balladry.

The second chapter, amounting nearly to half the book, groups the Ballads according to subject-matter. Incidentally Professor Gummere's wide reading in ballad-lore and ballad-literature assists him to make an interesting and illuminating critical study of each ballad, as it comes up for discussion. Child acknowledged 305 ballads, some mere fragments; Professor Gummere deals singly with more than nine-tenths of these, as well as with a 'fresh candidate for ballad honours' which has been discovered since the completion of Child's work. Two short chapters complete the book; the former deals with the sources of the Ballads, and the problems of their distribution and the probability of a common origin; the latter, on the worth of the Ballads, is an admirable summary of the values of popular poetry contrasted with those of artistic poetry.

Throughout, Professor Gummere's manner demands, no less than his matter, respectful appreciation; time after time he hits upon the happy word, the illuminating phrase, the apt citation. The reader's pleasure is such that he almost overlooks the assumption that Balladry is a closed chapter in English literature—that the gallant three hundred have ceased *virum volitare per ora.* But the present writer, inasmuch as he has collected in the past three months half-a-dozen variants of the above-mentioned 'candidate for ballad honours'—a carol entitled *The Bitter Withy*—warm from the lips of English folk, cannot entirely acquiesce in that assumption. Yet whether the Ballads are a forgotten manufacture or not, there is but little to be added to Child's collection; and it is none too soon that his labours, cut short by death, have been gallantly and piously continued by such erudite pupils of his as are Professor Gummere and Professor Kittredge.

F. SIDGWICK.

Modern Studies. By OLIVER ELTON. London: E. Arnold, 1907. 8vo. vii + 342 pp.

Under the above title Professor Elton has issued, in a revised form, a number of essays, originally contributed to the *Quarterly Review*, the *Fortnightly*, and other periodicals. The subjects range from Giordano Bruno and Spenser to living writers like Mr George Meredith and Mr Henry James, and suggest catholicity of taste on the part of the critic. Rare though it is to find an occupant of a University chair concerning himself with contemporary literature, Prof. Elton does not hesitate to make incursions into this territory, and his estimates of modern writers are among the most original in the volume. Side by side with these contemporary studies stand the essays on Bruno and Spenser. The latter is, indeed, only a fragment, limiting itself to the colour and imagery of the poems, but it serves to remind us how little has yet been done in the direction of a systematic analysis of Spenser's literary method. The parallel essay on Bruno supplies a valuable sketch of a great personality, in whom the spirit of the Renaissance was incarnate. Though Bruno had to wait till the nineteenth century for complete recognition, he is shown to have exerted some influence on the more thorough-going of English Renaissance scholars, and the essay is illumined by quotations from *La Cena de le Ceneri*, which present us with a vivid picture of Elizabethan England—'the artisans and shop-folk, who know you to be in some fashion a foreigner, snicker and laugh and grin and mouth at you, and call you in their own tongue, dog.' Further side-light on the Renaissance is afforded by the essay on *Literary Fame.*

The chief word of praise must, however, be reserved for those essays in which the writer endeavours, by a comparative study of a number of literary text-books, to arrive at an estimate of modern critical doctrine. The attempt was a bold one, and calculated to arouse hostility, but Prof. Elton's task must perforce be undertaken, at some time or other, by every reader who is brought face to face with conflicting critical methods. Happily it is not often a question of direct opposition, so that the critic's task resolves itself into an endeavour to assess the merits of the various contributions recently made to literary history. The more general of the essays, *The Meaning of Literary Essays*, is largely occupied with Dr Courthope's *History of English Poetry*, the merits and defects of which are admirably brought out. The companion essay on *Recent Shakespere Criticism* is a particularly fine example of the application of broad critical principles to a more limited field of research. Despite the somewhat gratuitous attack on so-called antiquarian research, the characterizations of the work of living writers are everywhere admirable. Dr Brandes' psychological sureness, combined with weakness in matter of fact, Prof. Bradley's insight into character and strong hortatory instinct, Prof. Raleigh's broad tolerance and eminent style—these characteristics are all duly emphasised and illustrated. Differ as we may from Prof. Elton on minute issues, we cannot withhold our appreciation of a series of essays, characterized throughout by maturity of judgment and by a style at once dignified and imaginative.

P. G. Thomas.

An Introduction to Vulgar Latin. By C. H. Grandgent. (Heath's Modern Language Series.) Boston: D. C. Heath; London: G. G. Harrap, 1907. 8vo. xvii + 219 pp.

The same excellent qualities which distinguished Professor Grandgent's *Outline of the Phonology and Morphology of old Provençal* (1905), are to be found in the present *Introduction to Vulgar Latin*: the facts are well grouped and arranged, and the principles are expounded in a clear and concise style. In the bibliography we have only noted as of importance the absence of the *Traité de la formation de la langue française*, which forms the complement to the *Dictionnaire général de la langue française*. Nothing that is essential has been omitted from the section dealing with Phonology and Morphology. The parts concerning the Vocabulary and Syntax call forth a few observations. The discussion of these matters is, on the whole, too short; the first chapter is somewhat dry and might be more fully worked out. A brief account of the direct and indirect sources of Vulgar Latin was indispensable, and the sixteen lines (p. 15) which Professor Grandgent devotes to the subject, are quite inadequate. No mention is made of coins (cf. *Catalogue des monnaies françaises de la Bibliothèque nationale, Les Monnaies mérovingiennes* by Maurice Prou, Paris, 1892), the evidence of which is all the more valuable because it is easy to date. The charters and the laws of the barbarians ought also to be mentioned as important aids towards the reconstruction of Vulgar Latin. A few examples ought to have been quoted in support of the very judicious remarks on the critical use of the different texts which have come down to us; it might also have been shown how the reconstruction of some lost forms of the spoken language is rendered possible by a comparison between the subsequent developments of the Romance tongues. To these general remarks the following particulars might be added. Page 8: add that in O. F. *a*, *ot*, were used without *y*, as the Latin *habuit* in the sentence: 'In arca Noe... habuit serpentes'; for example: 'Plus fel de lui n'ot en sa cumpagnie' (*Ch. de Rol.*, 1632). Page 9: mention *cohors* besides *cors*; *mane* was only partly, not entirely, superseded by *matutinum*, as is proved by the survival of *main*, both as substantive and adverb. Page 15: *Quominus* is the best example to give as proof of the negative meaning of *minus*. Page 17: mention the suffix **-icire*, which must have existed together with *-escere*; distinguish *-ulare* from *-culare*. Page 90: the vulgar form of *occidere* was **ab-cidere*, which perhaps arose under the influence of *abscidere*. The explanation that it was a result of 'umgekehrte Schreibung,' would account neither for the French form *ocire*, nor for the Provençal *aucir*. Page 91: besides **colŏbra*, accented on the penultimate, there must have existed in Vulgar Latin a form **colŏbra*, accented on the antepenultimate. Cf. *conbre* in Raschi's Glosses (*Revue des Études Juives*, T. LIII, p. 167), which allows us to reconstruct **colbre*. Page 170: why not admit **vare* beside *vadere*, just as **fare* is admitted beside *facere*? It seems to me that it would give a satisfactory etymology for the French word *rêver*; *resver* and *rever* in O.F. might then be explained as arising from **re* + *ex* + *vare* and *re* + *vare*. Page 187: *-ē̆runt* passed regularly into *-ĕrunt* under the influence of *-ĕrant*, *-ĕrint* and *-ĕrent*.

L. BRANDIN.

Historical German Grammar. Volume I. *Phonology, Word-Formation and Accidence.* By JOSEPH WRIGHT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo. xiv + 314 pp.

An Old High German Primer. With Grammar, Notes and Glossary. By JOSEPH WRIGHT. Second Edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 8vo. xii + 176 pp.

A promising beginning has been made to the series of Historical and Comparative Grammars, published by the Clarendon Press and edited by Professor Joseph Wright, with a *Historical German Grammar* by the editor himself. The volume opens with an introductory chapter which briefly outlines some of the general principles of language; this is followed by a classification of the Indogermanic languages with special reference to the Germanic group, and a summary of the chief differences between O.H.G., M.H.G. and N.H.G. The sound-value of the various alphabetic signs during the three periods of the German language is next discussed, stress or accent is dealt with, and then follows in the usual order a detailed history of vowels, consonants and inflexions.

A compendium presenting in brief form the present state of investigation into the linguistic problems connected with German has long been wanted, and Professor Wright's book ought therefore to prove most useful to students, especially to those who have to do without academic teaching and find themselves handicapped when they attempt to use the larger German works. But the teacher will be grateful too for the constant references to English which will greatly assist him in illustrating the more obscure features of German grammar to the English student.

While the book may thus be recommended as a whole, it challenges serious criticism in matters of detail. First of all, it is entirely dogmatic. There is not a single reference to the authorities upon which the author relies, or to the reasons why he differs from them. Again, absolute accuracy and the greatest caution in the statement of results are indispensable virtues in a book of this kind, and there is here much room for revision in a second edition. The necessity for condensation has not unfrequently led to vagueness, to the slurring over of difficult points and to incautious generalisations. Is there any reason why, contrary to general usage, vocalic *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, consonantal *i* and *u*, and the velars with labialisation are not distinguished in print? Forms like *wlqos* (p. 26) and *treies* (p. 28) not only look peculiar, but are misleading. The present **nem-o-a* (p. 233) also seems to imply that these portions of the book need overhauling. From the earlier chapters I add some further instances. N.H.G. *du* corresponds to M.H.G. *dū*, the *ū* of which, like that of *nū*, did not become a diphthong in N.H.G.; the M.H.G. forms on p. 213 ought to be given as *du*, *dū*. In what respect are *wann—wenn*, *dann—denn* (p. 4) illustrative of a difference of accentuation? The classification of the dialects in § 9 is unsatisfactory; Swabian is not specially recognised, and Ripuarian and Moselle Franconian ought to appear under Middle Franconian. The claim of East Franconian to be included in the Upper German dialects should be mentioned. The chapter on stress (§ 23 ff.) is also unsatisfactory, particularly § 24, which deals with the secondary stress (Nebenton). Considering the importance of this stress for O.H.G. and M.H.G. prosody, it is strange to find it dismissed with the curt observation that it 'fluctuated.' § 26, too, is vague and indefinite. On page 28, 2, line 1 'the same or' ought to be omitted. The rule given in § 56 is, of course, doubtful, but if it is retained, the retention of *i* in the past participle of the strong verbs of the first class should be mentioned. A note on p. 41 incorrectly ascribes the prevention of the umlaut by a following *lt*, *ld*, only to upper German; the fluctuation between *u* and *ü* in the preterite subjunctive is quite common before other consonants as well as nasal + consonant. It is too much to say (p. 42, note) that Middle German did not distinguish in writing *ö*, *ü*, *öu*, *üe* from *o*, *u*, *ou*, *uo*. It is done often enough. These few examples—and it would be easy to add to them—will show the necessity of a careful revision when a new edition is called for of this very useful handbook.

A book like Professor Wright's *Old High German Primer* may fairly claim to have proved its usefulness when it has reached the dignity of a second edition; and indeed, this little book has been, and will probably remain for a long time, the sole refuge of those who are desirous of acquiring an elementary knowledge of O.H.G. of the ninth century, but dread Braune's larger books. Many a student will no doubt be tempted by the simplicity and lucidity of Professor Wright's book to take up a subject which usually repels by its formidable initial difficulties. The only part of the little work to which serious exception must be taken, is the chapter on syntax. It is thoroughly unsatisfactory, and had much better be omitted altogether. The few useful notes which it contains might easily find room in the accidence or in the vocabulary. The notes to the extracts might, with advantage be recast. The student working under a teacher does not need them, whereas the private student needs more elaborate help than is here offered him. A few words on metre would also have formed a valuable addition.

J. STEPPAT.

Geschiedenis van het Drama en van het Tooneel in Nederland. Door J. A. Worp. 2 Volumes. Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1904—8. viii + 466 pp. and viii + 577 pp. 8vo.

Dr J. A. Worp's *History of the Drama and Theatre in the Netherlands*, which has just been completed by the publication of the second volume, has an importance which is by no means limited to the subject and the literature of which it treats. It is a valuable contribution to the comparative history of the European drama, and will be appreciated by all who seek to understand the general movements of modern literature. As a matter of fact, the key of such movements is often to be found in the little literatures of the continent rather than in France, or Germany, or England; this is particularly true of Holland, which is, as it were, hedged in by the three great literary powers. There is much to be learned from the reflection of French and English ideas in the Dutch mind, and Professor Grierson's recent attempt, in his contribution to the *Periods of European Literature*, to bring the Dutch Renaissance movement into line with the classicism of the rest of Europe, was a noteworthy recognition of the comparative value of Dutch literature. A careful study of Dr Worp's two admirable volumes will help us, better than any other existing history of the subject, to realise how much light the study of the Dutch drama is able to throw on the dramatic literature of other lands. This comparative value of the book, and the fact that our English journals rarely take cognisance of the excellent work which is being done at present in Holland in the field of modern literary research and criticism, are my chief reasons for bringing Dr Worp's history before the notice of the readers of this *Review*.

The most conspicuous merit of Dr Worp's book is, as I have just indicated, that it constantly keeps in view what may be called the European standpoint. Unfortunately, the early record of the Dutch drama, where every fragment of evidence is precious, is defective; we have a mere handful of dramas from which to draw our inferences and conclusions. This broken and incomplete tradition has perhaps been the reason which led to a somewhat adventurous criticism on the part of older writers on the subject—German as well as Dutch—an attempt to set up hypotheses of Dutch origins, which were at variance with the parallel evidence of French and German literary history. Dr Worp has not forgotten that, before we are justified in inventing new theories, the evidence against a development analogous to that in neighbouring lands, must be very strong; and he has succeeded in proving that the early Dutch traditions involve no factors which are absent in other literatures. Indeed, one wonders now that any other explanation could ever have been accepted.

It is, however, to later times that the reader will turn with most interest, to the century of Hooft and Vondel, when Holland succeeded in creating a national renaissance drama, which combined Senecan form with the spacious imaginative atmosphere of the medieval liturgic drama. The comparative results of Dr Worp's investigation of the drama of the seventeenth century are not as enlightening as one might have hoped to find them; he has made abundantly clear the various waves of foreign influence that swept over Holland from abroad, but he has not added to our knowledge of the influence that went out from Holland to other lands, and especially to Germany. If we are ever to find a solution to the many fascinating problems of German dramatic literature in the seventeenth century, from the *Sidea* and *Phoenicia* of Ayrer to the *Peter Squentz* of Schwenter-Gryphius, and the school comedies of Christian Weise, it must, as is generally admitted, come by way of Dutch literature. But if Dr Worp has no new facts to offer, his history at least helps us to realise what is too often forgotten, the essentially Dutch character of the German drama of that age. The advantages of the author's comparative method are to be seen in his treatment of the eighteenth century, a period barren enough in the history of Dutch dramatic literature; as especially suggestive I would note his discussion of the influence exerted by the French classic drama, on the national tradition that had come down from the drama of the preceding century.

Dr Worp's book is characterised by German thoroughness and German method. The more important plays are taken up one by one and discussed in detail; in fact, there is occasionally almost an excess of method in this respect, and the broader aspects of the dramatic movement do not always receive their due. His style is lucid and straightforward, and need not discourage anyone whose knowledge of Dutch requires constant recourse to the dictionary. The book is provided with valuable lists of foreign dramas in Dutch translation, and three exemplary indices.

J. G. Robertson.

MINOR NOTICES.

M. Gustave Cohen's *Histoire de la mise en scène dans le théâtre religieux français du moyen âge* (Paris, Champion, 1906, and now out of print), has been translated into German under the title *Geschichte der Inszenierung im geistlichen Schauspiele des Mittelalters in Frankreich*, by Dr Constantin Bauer (Leipzig, Klinkhardt, 1907). This, however, is more than a simple translation, and the formula 'verbesserte und vermehrte Ausgabe' is fully justified both as regards illustrations and text. The German edition has two plates which are not in the French original: *Die drei Marien am Grabe*, from a Reichenau MS. of the twelfth century, and *Der Weinmarkt in Luzern als Schauplatz des Osterspieles vom Jahre* 1583. With regard to the text, numerous rectifications and valuable additions have been made. These have been suggested by the reviews of Roy (*Revue Bourguignonne*, 1906), Sépet (*Romania*, October, 1906), Rigal (*Revue des Langues Romanes*, December, 1906), Châtelain (*Revue d'Histoire Littéraire*, September, 1906). Schneegans (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 1906), Van Hamel (*Museum*, October, 1906). Some notes have also been utilised, which were sent to the author by H. Logeman, or taken from Chambers's *Mediaeval Stage* and Gallée's *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der dramatische vertooningen in de Nederlanden gedurende de Middeleeuwen* (1873). Of the additions we note as particularly interesting the comparison between the instructions given to the actors in the *Jeu d'Adam* and in *Hamlet*, and the valuable evidence with regard to the scenery intended for the representation of a mystery at Alençon in 1520 (p. 82). On the evidence mainly of a passage in the *Miracle de Théodore*, the author originally was of opinion that persons had appeared entirely naked on the stage; he now expresses himself convinced by the arguments of Sépet and Langlois that this was not the case (cf. especially Langlois in the *Bibl. Ec. des Chartes*, 1906, p. 524). We understand that an English edition of this valuable work is in preparation.

L. B.

Dr Paget Toynbee, the compiler of the very representative anthology of verse and prose from the works of Dante, which has been published under the title *In the Footprints of Dante* (London: Methuen and Co., 1907), has refrained from any ambitious classification of his brief selections; he has followed, for the most part, the order in which the works appear in the standard Oxford edition, to which, with the aid of a subject and a reference index the book forms an excellent guide for the beginner who wishes to 'dip into' Dante's writings generally, instead of plodding through the first half of the *Inferno* and then leaving off discouraged. Many who are already familiar with the *Divina Commedia* and the *Vita Nuova*, will realise with surprise how much there is of human and historical interest in the prose works both vernacular and Latin. To each passage is appended an English rendering. Dr Toynbee has culled freely from his predecessors in the art of translation, but among the most charming of all, are his own renderings, of which he has made a modest use. Of the rest, Mr Shadwell's Marvellian stanzas are particularly striking in this form of short selections.

L. R.

We have received three excellent little volumes of the 'Riverside Literature Series': (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co.; London: G. G. Harrap): Malory's *The Book of Merlin* and *The Book of Sir Balin*, edited by C. G. Child (1904); *Beowulf* and *The Finnesburh Fragment*, translated and edited by C. G. Child (1904); and Chaucer's *Prologue, Knight's Tale* and *Nun's Priest's Tale*, edited by F. J. Mather (1899). These are all provided with good introductions and are intended primarily for students whose tastes incline rather to literature than to language. In the first the spelling and the forms of words are unfortunately modernized. The second is a good prose translation which steers an even course between pseudo-archaisms and modern colloquialisms. The introduction to the translation is slightly didactic in tone; seeing that the poem gives next to no information about Beowulf's long reign, we cannot agree that 'the unity aimed at was the presentation of the life of the hero.' The volume of Chaucer selections is, we think, the best edition extant for the beginner. The Introduction of 79 pages would be difficult to surpass, and the text, except for the partial adoption of Skeat's normalized spellings, has been edited on sound principles.

J. H. G. G.

George Eliot, von Helene Richter (*Wissenschaftliche Frauenarbeiten*, herausgegeben von H. Jantzen und G. Thurau. IV.—V. Heft. Berlin: A. Duncker, 1907) consists of five essays of which only the first, 'George Eliot, ein Charakterbild,' has not previously appeared in print. This short biography is the least important part of the volume, as it simply offers in a condensed form what has already been said. The second essay deals with 'Der Humor bei George Eliot,' and insists on her claims to be regarded as a humorist; the third, 'Die Frauenfrage,' discusses George Eliot's views as to the proper sphere of woman's activity. The last two essays deal more strictly with George Eliot as a novelist. We note that, in her discussion of Romola, Fräulein Richter expresses a point of view which is at complete variance with that of the late Sir Leslie Stephen or Mr Oscar Browning; 'die Erzählung,' she says, 'ist nur insofern historisch, als sie durchaus im Geist und Character der Epoche gehalten ist, in der sie spielt.'

A. B. Y.

The publications of the Malone Society for the first year of its existence have been completed by the issue of two more volumes. One of these is a reprint of the old play of *King Leir* from the quarto of 1605, the other the first part of the Society's *Collections*. This includes, besides notes on the other publications and reprints of certain recently discovered dramatic fragments, an article by Mr E. K. Chambers on the 'Elizabethan Lords Chamberlain' and annotated reprints of the dramatic records from the City *Remembrancia*. This important series of documents has, indeed, been indexed, but the records in question have never before been printed in full, though many of them are of the first importance for the history of the drama.

The first year's work of the Society is therefore represented by six volumes distributed to members in return for their guinea subscription. It is proposed to issue the same number in 1908, and the list approved by the Council is as follows: *Sir Thomas More*, from MS. Harley 7368; *Calisto and Meliboea*, F°, n.d.; *Selimus*, 4°, 1594; *Locrine*, 4°, 1595; *Sir John Oldcastle*, 4°, 1600 ('V.S.' quarto); and *Collections*, pt. ii. Further information may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., Mr Arundell Esdaile, 166 Holland Road, London, W.

Messrs Hachette and Co. will publish shortly a phototype reproduction of the remarkable copy of the *Essais* of Montaigne (1588), belonging to the municipality of Bordeaux, which contains the author's marginal notes and corrections. These bear witness to the extraordinary care with which Montaigne revised and polished his work in the last years of his life. The reproduction, which will contain some 700 plates, is being edited by Professor Strowski of Bordeaux. The subscription price of the complete work is 150 francs.

From a recent report of the German Commission of the Berlin Academy, we learn that the new edition of Wieland is so far advanced that arrangements have been made to begin printing. The first volumes to appear will be the 'Jugendschriften' edited by Dr Homeyer, Berlin, and the Translation of Shakespeare edited by Dr Stadler, Strassburg. Of the *Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters*, volumes VIII, IX and XIII have just been completed and the Archive is now in possession of over 3000 descriptions of manuscripts, of which about two-thirds have been catalogued.

Of editions of German classical writers in course of publication or announced we note as being of particular interest, the following: The six-volume 'Volks-Goethe,' which has been edited by Professor Erich Schmidt for the Goethe Gesellschaft (Weimar, Böhlau), is almost ready for publication, and the new edition of Hirzel's *Der junge Goethe* will be published by the Insel-Verlag in Leipzig in May. A new edition of Brentano's *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by C. Schüddekopf, is announced by G. Müller in Munich, and the same firm has just issued the first volume of a 'historisch-kritische' edition of E. T. A. Hoffmann's *Sämtliche Werke*, edited by C. G. von Maassen. It is to be hoped that the edition of Brentano will be followed by what is even a still greater desideratum to the student of German Romantic literature, a complete edition of Arnim's works. The firm of Hesse in Leipzig has just issued the first three volumes of Laube's *Sämtliche Werke*, to be completed in fifty volumes.

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CORRECTION. On page 1~~2~~4 (January number) delete the last two sentences of the note on *Fucus*.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1907—February, 1908.

GENERAL.

Hertz, W., Aus Dichtung und Sage. Vorträge und Aufsätze. Stuttgart, Cotta. 3 M.

Meillet, A., Introduction à l'étude comparative des langues indo-européennes. 2e éd. Paris, Hachette. 10 fr.

Vaughan, C. E., Types of Tragic Drama. London, Macmillan. 5*s.* net.

Volkelt, J., Zwischen Dichtung und Philosophie. Gesammelte Aufsätze. Munich, Beck. 8 M.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Bibliotheca romanica. 41—44, Cervantes Saavedra, Cinco novelas ejemplares ; 45, Camões, Os Lusiadas, v—vii ; 46, Molière, L'Avare. Strassburg, Hertz. Each number, 40 pf.

Mélanges Chabaneau. ii. Teil. (Romanische Forschungen, xxiii. Band.) Erlangen, F. Junge. 25 M.

Richter, E., Die Bedeutungsgeschichte der romanischen Wortsippe bur(d). Vienna, Hölder. 4 Kr.

Italian.

Canilli, A., L' opera poetica di Emilio Praga. Saggio di letteratura contemporanea. Milan, Signorelli e Pallestrini. 1 L. 50.

Carducci, G., Da un carteggio inedito di. Con prefazione di A. Messi. Rocca S. Casciano, Cappelli. 3 L.

Della Torre, A., Saggio di una bibliographia delle opere intorno a Carlo Goldoni (1793—1907). Florence, Sansoni. 10 L.

Franzoni, A., Le grandi odi storiche di G. Carducci commentate, e studio storico-critico sul poeta. 2da ediz. Lodi, Wilmant. 3 L.

Giannini, F., Nerone nell' arte drammatica italiana. Bellinzona, Salvioni. 2 L.

Giusta, G., Massimo d' Azeglio e gli avvenimenti storici e politici del suo tempo. Turin, Casanova. 2 L.

Historia di Ottinello e Julia, La. Faksimile eines um 1500 in Florenz hergestellten Druckes (Universitäts-Bibl., Erlangen). Erlangen, Mencke. 2 M.

Magrini, D., Le epistole metriche di F. Petrarca. Rocca, S. Casciano, Cappelli. 2 L. 50.

Martini, F., Capolavori di C. Goldoni, preceduti da uno studio critico. Florence, Sansoni. 6 L.

Mazzini, G., Scritti editi ed inediti. Vol. iii. Imola, Galeati. 3 L.

Miscellanea di studi critici pubblicati in onore di G. Mazzoni dai suoi discepoli, per cura di A. Della Torre e P. L. Rambaldi. 2 volumi. Florence, Tip. Galileiana. 40 L.

Ori, C., L' eloquenza civile italiana nel secolo xvi. (Indagine di storia letteraria e artistica, xi.) Rocca, S. Casciano, Cappelli. 2 L. 50.

Vernon, W. W., Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante. With text and literal translation. 2 vols. London, Methuen. 15*s.* net.

Spanish.

Biblioteca (Nueva) de Autores Españoles. Tomo vi. Libros de Caballerías. i. Ciclo Artúrico. Por A. Bonilla y San Martín. Tomo viii. Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo por Fr. José de Sigüenza. Publicada por J. C. García. i. Madrid, Bailly-Baillière. Each 12 pes.

Bonilla y San Martín, A., Historia de la filosofía española desde los tiempos primitivos hasta el siglo xii. Madrid, V. Suárez. 8 pes.

Cancionero de los Amantes de Teruel, colección de 500 cantares escritos por los mejores poetas contemporáneos. Madrid, M. G. Hernández.

Cotarelo y Mori, E., Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la leyenda de los Amantes de Teruel. 2da impr. Madrid, Tip. de la 'Revista de Archivos.'

Crawford, J. P. W., The Life and Works of C. S. de Figueroa (University of Pennsylvania Diss.). Philadelphia.

Menéndez y Pelayo, M., Historia de las Ideas Estéticas en España. Madrid, Tello. 5 pes.

Pérez Pastor, C., Bibliografía madrileña ó descripción de las obras impresas en Madrid. Parte iii (1621–25). Madrid, Tip. de la 'Revista de Archivos.'

Rodríguez Villa, A., Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Sandoval, Conde de la Corzana (1650—1720). Estudio histórico. Madrid, Fostanet.

Salas Barbadillo, A. T. de, La hija de Celestina. (Colección Clásica de obras picarescas, i.) Madrid, Perez.

Provençal.

Appel, C., Provenzalische Chrestomathie mit Abriss der Formenlehre und Glossar. 3. verbesserte Aufl. Leipzig, Reisland. 9 M.

French.

(*a*) *General* (*Language*, *Dialects*).

Paris, G., Mélanges linguistiques, publiés par M. Roques. Fasc. iii. Langue française et notes étymologiques. Paris, Champion. 6 fr.

Ritchie, R. L. G., Recherches sur la syntaxe de la conjonction "que" dans l'ancien français. Paris, Champion. 6 fr.

(*b*) *Old French.*

Bédier, J., Les Légendes épiques. Recherches sur la formation des Chansons de Geste. i. Le cycle d'Orange. Paris, Champion. 8 fr.

Chatelaine of Vergi, The. A Romance of the 13th century. Transl. by A. Kemp-Welch. (New Mediaeval Library.) London, Chatto and Windus. 5*s.* net.

Koschwitz, E., Les plus anciens monuments de la langue française. ii. Textes critiques et glossaire. 2^{me} éd. Leipzig, Reisland. 1 M. 50.

Pisan, Christine de, The Book of the Duke of True Lovers. Transl. from the Middle French. (New Mediaeval Library.) London, Chatto and Windus. 5*s.* net.

(*c*) *Modern French.*

Barbey-d'Aurevilly, J., Le théâtre contemporain (1866–68). Ire série. Paris, Stock. 3 fr. 50.

Boutard, C., Lamennais, sa vie et ses doctrines. ii. Le catholicisme libéral (1828–34). Paris, Perrin. 5 fr.

Châtelain, H., Recherches sur les vers français au xve siècle, rimes, mètres et strophes. Paris, Champion. 10 fr.

Chénier, A., Œuvres complètes. i. Bucoliques. Paris, Delagrave. 3 fr. 50.

Deplanque, A., Contribution à une édition critique de la correspondance de Fénelon. Lille, Giard. 3 fr.

Deplanque, A., Fénelon et la doctrine de l'amour pur. Lille, Giard. 10 fr.

Drouhet, C., Les manuscrits de Maynard conservés à la Bibliothèque de Toulouse. Paris, Champion. 2 fr.

Galtier, O., Étienne Dolet. Vie, œuvres, caractère, croyances. Paris, Flammarion. 3 fr. 50.

Gamble, J., A study on Pascal. Three Lectures. London, Simpkin. 2*s.* net.

Garosci, C., Margherita di Navarra (1492—1549). Turin, Lattes. 5 L.

Histoire des Théâtres de Paris. Les jeux gymniques, 1810–12, et le Panorama dramatique, 1821–3. Paris, Daragon. 6 fr.

Mornet, D., Le sentiment de la nature en France de J. J. Rousseau à Bernardin de Saint-Pierre. Paris, Hachette. 3 fr. 50.

Musset, A. de, Comédies et proverbes. Tome ii. Paris, Lemerre. 3 fr. 50.

Poncet, A. et Leriche, La maladie de J. J. Rousseau. Paris, Champion. 1 fr.

Séché, A. et J. Bertaut, L'évolution du théâtre contemporain, avec une préface de E. Faguet. Paris, Mercure de France. 3 fr. 50.

Séché, L., Musées romantiques. Hortense Allart de Méritens dans ses rapports avec Chateaubriand, Béranger, etc. Paris, Mercure de France. 7 fr. 50.

Spiess, C., Le penseur chez Sully-Prudhomme. Paris, Messein. 3 fr.

Zyromski, E., Sully-Prudhomme. Paris, Colin. 5 fr.

GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

Scandinavian.

Andersen, V., Tider og Typer af dansk Aands Historie. i. Række Humanisme. i. Del. Erasmus. i. Bog. Tiden intill Holberg. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 6 kr.

Bonus, A., Isländerbuch, iii. Einführungs- und Ergänzungsband. Bedeutung des altisländischen Prosaschrifttums. Munich, Callwey. 4 M.

Böök, F., Romanens och prosaberättelsens historia i Sverige intill 1809. Stockholm, Bonnier. 8 kr. 50.

Gering, H., Glossar zu den Liedern der Edda (Sæmundar-Edda). 3te Aufl. Paderborn, Schöningh. 5 M. 40.

Gosse, E., Ibsen. (Literary Lives Series.) London, Hodder and Stoughton. 3*s.* 6*d.*

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DANTE'S LYRICAL METRES: HIS THEORY AND PRACTICE.

THE object of this paper is in the first place to give a sketch of Dante's theory of lyrical metres as outlined in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, with some reference to the sources from which it is derived and its connection with other metrical treatises of contemporary, or nearly contemporary, date; and secondly to analyse the structure of his lyrical poems, considering how far they exemplify his metrical theory, or add to our knowledge of it.

The *De Vulgari Eloquentia* has the special interest of being the earliest extant treatise on Italian poetry, as Dante himself states at the opening of Book i:—'cum neminem ante nos de vulgaris eloquentiae doctrina quicquam inveniamus tractasse': words which it is impossible to reconcile with the ill-authenticated tradition that his special friend, Guido Cavalcanti, who died before Dante's treatise can have been composed, had written on the vernacular grammar and rhetoric. It is clear, however, that Dante's metrical doctrines and practice were largely derived, directly or indirectly, from Provençal literature, to which allusion is probably made in words that follow those quoted above:—'non solum aquam nostri ingenii ad tantum poculum haurientes, sed, accipiendo vel compilando ab aliis, potiora miscentes' (i, 1, ll. 13—15)[1]. This fact gives special interest to the Provençal treatise, the *Leys d'amors*, which, although it was not written before the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and was not completed till about 1350, is valuable as preserving the traditions, and summing up the practice, of a much earlier time. The date of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* is supposed on internal evidence to be about 1305–9: some interval between books 1 and 2 is suggested by the opening of the latter 'ad calamum frugi operis *redeuntes*.' Both books are clearly subsequent to Dante's exile in 1302, to which reference is made twice in book 1 (chaps. 6 and 17) and once in book 2 (chap. 6). The work is therefore contemporary with the commentary composed by Francesco da Barberino for his *Documenti d'amore,* for the *Documenti* were apparently written before 1296, and the commentary which includes notes 'de variis inveniendi et rimandi modis'[1] is stated by Francesco da Barberino himself to have occupied him for sixteen years (? 1296–1312).

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[1] The references are to the *Oxford Dante*.

There are only three other metrical treatises to which it will be necessary to refer occasionally. The first is that of Antonio da Tempo:—the *Summa artis rithimici* (sc. *dictaminis*) or *Ars rithimorum vulgarium* composed in 1332, and dedicated to Alberto della Scala, Signore of Verona. The second is Gidino da Sommacampagna's *Trattato de li rhythimi volgari* in the Veronese dialect, composed not long after 1350, and dedicated also to a Scaliger, viz. Antonio della Scala, who was 'podestà' of Verona 1375–1387. The third and last is the *Poetica* of Trissino, who, it may be noted, mentions Dante and Antonio da Tempo as his only predecessors. Of this treatise the first book, which alone concerns us, was published in 1529, in which year Trissino also produced his Italian translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

Anyone who reads Dante's treatise for the first time must be surprised and puzzled by the peculiarity of its metrical terminology. This applies not only to unusual words, but also to common words such as 'pes,' 'versus,' 'carmen,' 'metrum,' 'dimeter,' which are used by Dante in senses entirely different from those which they usually bear, and perhaps due to him alone. This will appear in the following sketch, in which it is proposed to shew how Dante builds up the metrical structure from the syllable to the line, from the line to the combination of lines in what we may call a 'period,' though Dante does not use the term: and lastly from the period to the combination of periods in a stanza, or rather in the three lyrical forms which he used, viz. those of the canzone, the ballata and the sonetto.

The primary element is the 'syllable,' as might be expected in any theory of Romance metres, in which no account is taken of the 'foot,' the different forms of line being distinguished by the number of syllables, not of feet, which the line contains[2]. This marks at once the distinction between Romance and Germanic metres, in which latter the number of syllables is comparatively indifferent, the primary unit being the foot which may be represented by one, two, three or even four syllables.

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[1] Cf. *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 1, ll. 6 f. 'inventoribus, inventum.'

[2] ii, c. 5 and c. 12.

The different forms of line which Dante recognises as legitimate are only four, viz. those of eleven, seven, five and three syllables: but the last of these is not to be used in the 'tragic' style, except as forming a part of a line, when an internal rhyme falls upon the second and third syllables. The nine-syllable line is rejected as it is also in the *Leys d'amors*, the reasons given by Dante for its rejection being that it is the triple of the trisyllable, and was never held in esteem, or had fallen out of use 'propter fastidium.' Lines containing an even number of syllables are all rejected, as being rarely used, ostensibly for the curious reason that they 'retain the nature of their numbers'[1] and even numbers are 'subject to' ('subsistunt') odd numbers, as matter is to form[2]. But the real reason for their rejection seems to be that, as in the majority of Italian words the accent falls upon the penultimate syllable, the normal rhymes are dissyllabic, not monosyllabic; and as, moreover, the metres used by Dante are exclusively 'rising' not 'falling' rhythms, 'iambic' not 'trochaic,' in accordance with the general practice of Italian poetry, it follows that the lines must consist of an odd, not an even, number of syllables. Of the three normal lines the hendecasyllable is by far the most frequent and the most important. All the 'cantiones illustres' according to Dante begin with a hendecasyllable, for it is to be noted that, wrongly, as it seems, he regards all those Provençal lines which appear to contain only ten syllables as being in reality hendecasyllabic, the word 'cantars,' for example[3], at the end of a line being according to him trisyllabic, the 'r' and 's' forming a distinct syllable. And not only must the stanza begin with a hendecasyllable, but the hendecasyllable must be predominant throughout. Next in order of importance is the heptasyllable, the pentasyllable coming last.

In this classification it is to be observed that, just as Dante does not recognise the 'foot' as a higher unit between the syllable and the line, so neither does he recognise any section, κῶλον, combination of feet, short of the line. Yet that the Italian hendecasyllable is composed of two sections is obvious from the fact that there is always a stress, i.e., an accentuated syllable, falling in the middle of the line as well as at the end: i.e., either the fourth or the sixth syllable as well as the tenth is accentuated. This is in agreement with the doctrine of the *Leys d'amors* where it is said that in the ten-syllable line (corresponding to the Italian hendecasyllable) there is a pause after the fourth, though not indeed after the sixth, syllable.

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[1] ii, c. 5, ll. 65–8.

[2] Cp. i, 16, ll. 53–5.

[3] ii, c. 5.

The term which Dante uses for the line is 'carmen,'—a use which, though not classical, is found in post-classical writers. Another term which he occasionally uses is 'metrum,' e.g., in Book ii, c. 11; hence 'dimeter,' 'trimeter,' and the like, which in ordinary metrical language mean certain combinations of simple or double feet, as the case may be, not being required by Dante in such meanings, denote in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* the number of lines or 'carmina,' the 'dimeter' being two lines, the 'trimeter' three lines and so on. For this use I have found no parallel. The familiar term for the line, namely 'versus,' is, as will be seen, employed by Dante in a special and peculiar sense.

We have now to see how the stanza or strophe is built up. Dante recognises only three forms of lyrical stanza in contrast to 'alios illegitimos et irregulares modos,' viz., (1) the 'cantio per superexcellentiam,' i.e., the canzone, (2) the 'ballata,' and (3) the 'sonitus' (sonnet)[1]. Of these the canzone is the most 'noble,' the sonnet the least, the ballata intermediate in the scale of dignity. The reasons assigned for the superiority of the canzoni to the ballate are not only that they bring their authors more honour and are regarded as more precious and that they alone comprise the whole of the poet's art, but also that they produce their effect without any adventitious aid while the ballate 'indigent plausoribus' (ii, 3, l. 30), require performers. The meaning of this latter expression is generally supposed to be that they require 'musicians' to accompany the words, and this is the interpretation of Trissino who in his Italian translation renders 'plausores' by 'sonatori.' But it seems probable that it should be translated 'dancers,' in support of which may be quoted 'Pars pedibus *plaudunt* choreas,' Virg. *Aen.*, 6, 644, and *Culex*, 19 '*plaudente* chorea,' though the reading there is doubtful. This interpretation is in harmony with the meaning of 'ballata,' which is a song accompanied with dancing. That the 'ballata' is superior in dignity to the sonnet is, according to Dante, universally admitted. Of these three forms Dante describes the first only: the other two were to have been discussed in Book iv (ii, 4, l. 12). For the analysis of their structure it will be necessary to examine the extant specimens and to refer to the accounts of them given by the metricians. Of the canzone there are two species, which differ according as the stanzas of which they are composed are divisible or indivisible. Those which are indivisible are sung to a melody which extends over the whole stanza without any repetition, 'quaedam sunt sub una oda continua usque ad ultimum progressive, hoc est sine iteratione modu-

[1] ii, 3, l. 10; ii, 8, l. 59.

lationis cuiusquam et sine diesi' (ii, 10, ll. 18–21). These are the rarer forms and in Dante's *Canzoniere* are represented only by the three normal sestine and possibly by the 'double' sestina referred to in ii, 13, l. 90 as 'novum aliquid atque intentatum artis,' which according to Trissino is indivisible, though there is some doubt whether he is right. It would be out of place here to give a complete account of this highly artificial form which was invented by the Provençal troubadour Arnaut Daniel, of whom Dante makes Guido Guinizelli speak with admiration in *Purg.* xxvi, 117, as a 'miglior fabbro del parlar materno.' It seems to have found little favour, for there are said to be only four Provençal specimens extant, and Dante was the first to introduce it into Italian literature; using it however only in the poems belonging to the curious 'pietra' group. As to its structure, it will be sufficient for the present purpose to say that each of the three single 'sestine' attributed to Dante consists of six stanzas containing six lines of eleven syllables, each ending with one of six different words which recur in each stanza in varying order. Each sestina is closed by a 'tornata' (of which more will be said presently) consisting of three lines, containing three or six of the recurrent final words which have just been referred to.

All the other stanzas in Dante's canzoni belong to the class of divisible stanzas. The characteristics of this class are not only that the stanza is divisible but also that it always involves at least one repetition of the same metrical structure, and therefore of the melody to which the canzone was originally intended to be sung. The repetition may be either before or after the point of division, or there may be a repetition both before and after it. What the technical term for the dividing point is, whether 'diesis' or 'dieresis,' is not absolutely certain. It is mentioned seven times in Book ii, c. 10, in all which instances the MSS. have the form 'diesis': once in c. 12 and once in c. 13, in both which instances the MSS. have 'dieresis.' The definition which Dante gives of the term is as follows (ii, 10, ll. 21–3): 'diesim dicimus deductionem vergentem de una oda in aliam,' which apparently means 'a transition from one melody to another,' the metrical structure and therefore the melody being changed at this point. Now the regular meaning of diesis, which is a well known term in Greek music, is certain: it is an interval which is a division of a tone, being usually a quarter-tone, though sometimes a semitone. This bears little or no analogy to the sense required here: viz., that of a division (Trissino's translation is *divisione*) between the two parts of a strophe. This however may be said also of the term 'dieresis,' the usual sense of which is a division of a diphthong into two separate vowels, thus forming two syllables. And that 'diesis' is probably the right reading is indicated by a passage in the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, iii, 20 'diesis est spatia quaedam et *deductiones* modulandi atque *vergendi de uno in alterum* sonum,'—words which certainly seem to be the origin of Dante's definition, though probably misunderstood by him. That the word in any case, whether 'diesis' or 'dieresis,' was unfamiliar and would not have been 'understanded of the people' is shewn by Dante's remark, 'hanc voltam vocamus cum vulgus alloquimur' (ii, 10, ll. 23–4). It has been assumed in what has been said that the required sense is that of the dividing point between the two divisions into which the stanza falls, but this, though most probable, is not indisputable. It might be thought that the definition implies not a point, but a passage, of transition, and in this connection it may be noticed that in all but one[1] of the twenty-one canzoni printed in the *Oxford Dante*, as well as in Ballata 7, which is in reality not a ballata but a canzone, the first line of the second division is linked by rhyme with the last line of the first division: a device which Dante calls 'quaedam ipsius stantiae concatenatio pulcra' (ii, 13, l. 46). It is therefore possible, and has been maintained, that the line which thus forms a link between the two parts, and not the point of division, may be the 'diesis.'

It has been seen above that in the 'divisible' stanza there must be at least one repetition of metrical structure whether before or after the 'diesis,' and that there may be a repetition both before and after it. If the repetition occurs only before the dividing point, the stanza is said to have 'pedes': if it occurs only after the dividing point, the stanza is said to have 'versus.' If there is no repetition before the 'diesis,' the first part of the stanza is called 'frons': if the second part contains no repetition, it is called 'cauda' or 'sirma' (or as the MSS. have in c. 10 'sirima'). There are thus three forms of the divisible stanza: (1) pedes + versus, (2) pedes + cauda, (3) frons + versus. These uses of the words 'pedes' and 'versus'—words so common in other metrical senses—are very peculiar, but whether they were first so applied by Dante is uncertain. Dante calls special attention to the distinction between his use of 'pes' and that of the 'regulati poetae,' i.e., the Latin poets, 'quia illi carmen ex pedibus, nos vero ex carminibus pedem constare dicimus' (ii, 11, ll. 57–9), i.e., according to him the 'pedes' are composed of lines, according to them the lines are composed of 'pedes.' There will be occasion to return to the history of the term

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[1] The exception is the fragment in *Vita Nuova*, c. 28.

'pedes' when dealing with the sonnet. Scarcely less peculiar is Dante's use of 'versus' which differ from the 'pedes' only in their position in the stanza: i.e., in coming after, instead of before, the diesis. Possibly 'versus' may be a translation of the vernacular 'volta' used by Francesco da Barberino to denote the same thing. If so, 'volta' and 'versus' would both mean a turn: i.e., the turning point together with all that follows it. But the inconvenience of using words so liable to be misunderstood as 'pedes' and 'versus' in this connection was felt by Trissino who accordingly employs 'base' to represent Dante's 'pedes' and, like Barberino, 'volte' to represent Dante's 'versus.' It may be noted in passing that in the *Convivio* 'verso' is used frequently in yet another sense, viz., that of stanza.

The word 'frons' denoting the first part of the stanza, when that part is indivisible, presents no special interest or difficulty: it is somewhat different with the word 'sirma' or 'sirima' denoting the latter part of the stanza, when that part is indivisible. As to the form of the word there is considerable doubt. The MSS. give 'sirima' in c. 10 and 'sirma' in c. 11. Trissino, both in his translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and in his *Poetica*, has 'sirima.' 'Sirma' (or 'syrma') is the Greek *σύρμα*, a 'train' of a dress; and is defined in Du Cange as 'genus vestis tragicorum vel cauda seu tractus vestis feminarum.' It appears also to have been used in the terminology both of rhetoric and of music, meaning, in the former, rhetorical amplification, in the latter, a prolonged note, or musical phrases or melodies appended to the close of a psalm or antiphon. Dr Toynbee has however pointed out to me that the form used by Dante was probably 'syrina,' this being the word given in the *Catholicon* of Giovanni da Genova, whose authority was Uguccione da Pisa, the author of Dante's Latin Dictionary. Giovanni explains the word as meaning 'cauda vestis feminarum': and in the last edition of Du Cange the form 'sirina' is given, with the explanation 'cauda vestis: fimbria.' This form, connected with 'syren,' seems to be due to a mistake on the part of these early glossarists, and to a confusion with the proper form 'sirma.' In any case it will be noticed that both 'sirma' (or 'sirima') and 'sirina' are glossed by 'cauda,' Dante's alternative term for the part of the stanza which is in question.

For Dante's account of one special feature in the canzone not mentioned in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, reference must be made to the *Convivio*. This is the 'tornata' (Provençal 'tornada') which is found in 17 out of the 21 canzoni printed in the *Oxford Dante*. 'It is generally,' says Dante (*Conv.* ii, 12, l. 7), 'called "tornata" because the poets who first made a practice of composing it, did so in order that, when the canzone had been sung through, a *return* might be made to the canzone itself with a certain part of the song' (i.e., the poet turned to address his canzone, and in doing so repeated a portion of the metrical structure and melody of the preceding stanzas). 'I, however,' he continues, 'have seldom composed it with this intention, and in order that this might be perceived by others I have seldom set it in accord with the structure of the canzone as far as concerns the metre which is essential to the music' (i.e., the metre and accompanying melody are seldom the same as in the preceding part). 'But I composed it when anything was required by way of ornament to the canzone over and above its general purport.' In the three canzoni commented on in the *Convivio*, as almost without exception in Dante, the 'tornata' takes the form of an address to the canzone itself, and this is in harmony with what he says as to the practice of those who originally used it. But his remarks as to his own practice in respect of metre cannot be reconciled with the structure of the 'tornata' in the extant canzoni. In five instances the 'tornata' is identical in form with the preceding stanzas as in *Convivio*, iii. In five instances the metrical structure is that of the 'sirma,' and in five others it is equivalent to a portion of the 'sirma'; only in two cases does it differ altogether from the 'sirma,' and in one of these (*Canz.* ix) it is probable that the 'tornata' now appended to the canzone did not originally belong to it. It cannot therefore be said that, so far as the existing canzoni are concerned, Dante seldom composed the 'tornata' in a metre that would fit a part of the preceding melody. It appears however that the 'tornata' is on the whole in Italian poetry less often identical in structure with what has preceded than in Provençal, and this may probably be accounted for by the supposition that the Italian canzoni were not so regularly composed with a view to being sung, though it will be remembered that Dante's 'Amor che nella mente mi ragiona,' the theme of *Convivio*, iii, is *sung* by Casella in *Purg.* ii, 112, and in *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 10, l. 15, it is said that 'omnis stantia ad quandam odam recipiendam armonizata est.'

Having now outlined the structure of the canzone as given in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* we must turn to the existing canzoni in order to see whether, or to what extent, they conform to the rules there laid down. And first as to the length of the lines. The hendecasyllable invariably begins the stanza, and it is also emphatically predominant in all the canzoni. The stanza is entirely composed of hendecasyllables in *Canz.* i and vi. The heptasyllable occurs only once in the stanza in

Canz. iii, iv, vii, xv, xvi; only twice in *Canz.* ii, xiv, xxi; three times in *Canz.* v, xi, xii; four times in *Canz.* ix, xiii, xviii; i.e., the hendecasyllable is found exclusively in two, the heptasyllable occurs once in five, and between two and four times in nine: while the number of lines in the whole stanza varies between the minimum of thirteen and the maximum of twenty-one. The largest number of lines shorter than the hendecasyllable is found in *Canz.* viii, x, xix, xx (all of them, be it observed, belonging to the ethical and didactic group), and lastly in *Ball.* vii, which, as has already been mentioned, is not a ballata but a canzone. All these contain more than five heptasyllables, which Dante apparently regards as the largest permissible number (*De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 12, l. 36). Thus *Ball.* vii contains six heptasyllables in a total of eighteen lines, *Canz.* viii contains seven in twenty lines, *Canz.* x nine in twenty-one lines, *Canz.* xx seven in eighteen lines. *Canz.* xvii and xix must be taken together as being the only canzoni of Dante which shew an internal rhyme. *Canz.* xvii consists indeed entirely of hendecasyllables, but in two of these lines has an internal rhyme on the fourth and fifth syllables. *Canz.* xix is still more elaborate: it contains ten hendecasyllables, in two of which there is an internal rhyme on the second and third syllables, seven heptasyllables, and two pentasyllables, one in each 'pes' (compare ii, 12, l. 52, where it is said that there should not be more than one pentasyllable in the whole stanza, or at most two in the 'pedes'). Even in this, the most complicated, in metrical structure, of all Dante's *Canzoni*, the hendecasyllable is still just predominant. With regard to the division of the stanza into 'pedes,' 'versus,' 'frons' and 'sirma,' the facts are as follows. The division into 'pedes' is invariable, and each of the 'pedes' is usually of three or four lines, the only exceptions being *Canz.* x which has five lines in the 'pes,' and *Canz.* xix which has six. There are, strictly speaking, only two instances of 'versus' pure and simple. One is *Canz.* i, which falls into two 'pedes' of four lines each, and two 'versus' of three lines each, being identical in form with the sonnet, and differing from it only in the number of the stanzas, and in the arrangement of the rhymes, for the first line of the tercets rhymes with the last of the quatrains, and does not, as usually in the sonnet, introduce a new rhyme. The second instance is the so-called Ballata vii, which has two 'pedes' of four lines each, and two 'versus' of five lines each. In addition however to these two canzoni, nos. xiv, xvii, and xviii may perhaps be regarded as affording instances of 'versus' with a 'cauda' added: viz., of two lines in *Canz.* xiv, of one line in *Canz.* xvii, and of three lines in *Canz.* xviii. But there is no reference to such an addition in any passage of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

With regard to the arrangement of the rhymes it has already been observed that the next line after the 'diesis' generally rhymes with the preceding line, as in *Canz.* i referred to just above; and the last two lines of the stanza generally rhyme together, in accordance with *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 13, ll. 50–2, 'pulcerrime tamen se habent ultimorum carminum desinentiae si cum rithimo in silentium cadant.' Here it may in passing be noticed that Dante, following the example of some other medieval treatises on metre, always uses for rhyme the word 'rithimus,' which he never employs in any other sense, except once in the *Epistle to Can Grande,* ll. 179 ff., where he says, speaking of the *Divine Comedy,* that the whole work is divided into three 'Canticae,' each 'Cantica' into 'Cantus,' and each 'Cantus' into 'Rithimi' (apparently = tercets). On the other hand in the *Convivio* (i, 10, l. 88) 'ritmo' means rhythm, and 'rima' (iv, 2, l. 102) is said to have a narrower and a wider sense: the narrower equivalent to rhyme, the wider to rhythmical and rhymed composition.

It appears, on the whole survey, that the structure of all the canzoni printed in the *Oxford Dante,* with the exception of five, including *Ball.* vii, harmonises with the principles formulated in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.* Of these five exceptions one (no. viii) is the canzone at the beginning of *Conv.* iv, two (nos. x and xix) are quoted as his own by Dante in *V. E.* ii, 2, l. 93 (where he speaks of the author as a friend of Cino) and in ii, 12, l. 64. These canzoni, therefore, though not altogether conforming to Dante's rules, are indisputably his composition, and either he held different opinions at different times as to what was permissible, or he deliberately adopted in these five instances a slightly less dignified style, an 'elegiae umbraculum' (ii, 12, l. 49), as he tells us had been done by Guido Ghisilieri and Fabruzzo de' Lambertazzi, who had composed canzoni in which the stanza *began* with a heptasyllable. In any case the discrepancy between Dante's theory and practice in these instances is a warning that it is unsafe to infer on metrical grounds alone the spuriousness of any of the poems the authenticity of which may be on other grounds doubtful. The composition of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia,* as we have seen, probably falls within the last fifteen years of Dante's life: and it need not be supposed that he must have always followed the rules which he lays down in this later work.

That the structure of the Italian canzone was derived from Provençal poetry, though it is not described in the *Leys d'amors*, is shewn by the Provençal poetry that has come down to us, and here, as in Dante, the tripartite division of the stanza into two 'pedes' and a 'sirma' appears to be the commonest. The same structure is found in the work of the Minnesinger and Meistersinger, and can be traced back as far as the last quarter of the twelfth century when the Minnesinger began to be influenced by French and Provençal models; and there is a metrical terminology for it which was coined by the Meistersinger. The German 'Stollen' correspond to Dante's 'pedes,' and the 'Abgesang' to the 'sirma.' 'Stollen,' etymologically connected with the verb 'stellen,' means a 'prop,' 'post,' 'foot' (of a piece of furniture), and bears therefore some analogy to the term 'pedes,' as does also 'Gebäude' to 'stantia,' 'stanza.'

The principles governing the structure of the ballata and the sonnet it was Dante's intention to elucidate in Book iv of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii, 4, l. 12), where he proposed to treat of the 'mediocre' vernacular as distinguished from the 'illustre' or 'aulicum' or 'nobilissimum' and 'tragic' style with which Book ii is exclusively occupied. In order therefore to arrive at their structure we can use only the extant specimens and the oldest treatises on Italian metre. Both Antonio da Tempo and Gidino give fairly long accounts of the ballata and its various forms. The name, as Gidino says, and as we have already seen, is given to it because it was, originally at least, accompanied by the dance[1], and corresponding, though slightly different, forms are in the *Leys d'amors* denominated 'dansa' and 'bals.' What characterises the ballata is the 'responsorium,' 'ripresa,' 'refrain,' with which the poem begins. Dante is therefore distinguishing the canzone from the ballata when he says that the former is 'sine responsorio' (ii, 8, l. 70). This refrain was repeated at the close of each stanza, or, at least, at the end of the entire poem, for authorities appear to differ on this point. Antonio da Tempo says 'vocatur autem prima pars ideo repilogatio quia de consuetudine approbata a tanto tempore citra cuius non exstat memoria est quod statim finito cantu alterius [? alicuius] voltae vel omnium verborum alicuius ballatae cantores reassumunt et repilogant ac repetunt primam partem in cantu et ipsam iterate cantant.' Gidino: 'item nota che la ditta prima parte de la ballata o sia canzone ee appellada represa o sia resposa, per caxone che cossì tosto come ee compiuto de cantare la volta de una stancia de la ditta ballata o sia canzone, incontenente lo cantatore reassume, e canta ancora la ditta prima parte de la ballata o sia canzone.' Some light is thrown upon the

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[1] 'A lo canto de loro ballano,' Gidino.

method of performance by what is said in connection with the poems inserted in the *Decameron* at the end of each day, which are called by Boccaccio 'canzone' or 'ballatella,' but are all of the same type as the ordinary ballata such as we find in Dante. Each of them is sung by a solo singer, accompanied apparently by the dance, which is distinctly mentioned at the close of the first day: 'Lauretta......prese una danza e quella menò, cantando Emilia la seguente canzone,' and on the second day both the dance and the repetition of the refrain in chorus are indicated: 'menando Emilia la carola, la seguente canzone da Pampinea, rispondendo l' altre, fu cantata.' The same phrase 'rispondendo l' altre' recurs on the third day, and on the eighth day 'la canzone de Pamphila haveva fine, alla quale quantunque per tutti fosse compiutamente risposto' etc.

The complete structure of the ballata is as follows: the refrain with which it begins is followed by two 'pedes' or 'mutazioni'; and these are in turn followed by a 'volta' which is of the same metrical form as the refrain, and partly, if not wholly, rhymes with it. Francesco da Barberino lays down the rule that the first line of the 'volta' must rhyme with the line immediately preceding it, and to this rule there is only one exception in the ballate printed in the *Oxford Dante*, viz. no. iv, which is now ascertained to be the composition not of Dante but of Guido Cavalcanti.

The different kinds of ballate enumerated by Antonio da Tempo and Gidino are distinguished by the varying number of lines contained in the refrain. Of Dante's ballate three have refrains of three lines, and five have refrains of four lines; while another (no. viii) is abnormal in not having any division into 'pedes.' As in the canzone, the hendecasyllable is predominant in all but one instance (no. viii). The form of Cavalcanti's ballata is distinguished from that of all the others attributed to Dante as being entirely composed of heptasyllables with the exception of a single hendecasyllable in the 'responsorium' and 'volta': and even this hendecasyllable has an internal rhyme on the sixth and the seventh syllables. No. viii, however, is somewhat similar in form as it has only three hendecasyllables, and the responsorium and volta are composed of heptasyllables exclusively.

In passing from the ballata to the sonnet we are on more familiar ground. The division of the sonnet into two parts, of eight lines and six lines respectively, is obvious: but questions have been raised as to the origin of the form and the elements of which it is composed. These seem to have been now finally decided by Biadene in his exhaustive essay on the *Morfologia del Sonetto* in the *Studj di filologia romanza*, vol. iv. He has there shewn both by internal evidence, i.e., the position of the pauses in the sense, and also by the arrangement of the lines in the oldest MSS. containing sonnets, that they were originally regarded as consisting of eight lines divided into four couplets, and six lines divided into two tercets, though later the first eight lines were regarded as being divided not into four couplets but into two quatrains. Biadene's conclusion is borne out by the statement of our earliest metrician, Francesco da Barberino, who divides the 'sonitium' into four 'pedes' of two lines each (one line in each couplet being however a heptasyllable) and two 'mutae' of three lines each. This original division is further indicated by the fact that the arrangement of rhymes a b a b a b a b is older than that of a b b a a b b a. And even the sestet was probably *in origin* a combination of three couplets, not of two tercets, the earliest arrangement of rhymes being c d c d c d. In other words, according to Biadene, the sonnet was a combination of a 'strambotto' of eight lines with one of six, 'strambotto' being a Sicilian term for a stanza usually of eight, sometimes of six, lines, containing two rhymes, rhyming in alternate lines, the first with the third, the second with the fourth, and so on. In illustration of Francesco da Barberino's use of the term 'pedes,' and as indicating perhaps a popular origin for that terminology, Biadene points out that the modern Sicilians call both the single lines and the couplets of the strambotto 'piedi.' It is curious that our three earliest metricians use the word 'pes' or 'piede' in connection with the sonnet in different senses. With Francesco da Barberino, as has been seen, it is applied to each of the first four *couplets*; with Antonio da Tempo each of the first eight *lines* is a 'pes'; with Gidino, departing for once from the footsteps of Antonio da Tempo, whom he usually follows, it is the name given to each of the *quatrains*: a use which was natural when the first part of the sonnet had come to be regarded as falling into two quatrains, and which is also in harmony with the use of the term as applied to the canzone.

The metrical characteristics of Dante's sonnets can be stated shortly. Putting aside the two 'sonetti doppi' which are the second and fourth in the *Vita Nuova*, but including the three addressed to Forese, there are 52 in the *Oxford Dante*. In all of these the arrangement of rhymes in the quatrains is either a b a b or a b b a; the latter being far the most frequent (43, as against 9). There is much greater variety in the arrangement of the sestet, which contains sometimes two, sometimes three, rhymes, the proportion of each being almost exactly equal, viz., 26 with two rhymes, 25 with three; while one sonnet (liii) is peculiar in introducing into the sestet one of the rhymes in the quatrains, the arrangement of the whole being abab abab cde bde. The various types, arranged in order of frequency are as follows:—cdc dcd (12 instances); cde dce (11); cdd dcc (9); cde edc (8); cde cde (6); cdc cdc (5).

The facts as to the number of rhymes may be summarised thus:—

(1) There are never more than five nor less than four.

(2) The octave always contains two and only two.

(3) When in the sestet there are only two rhymes, either each occurs three times, or one occurs four times and the other twice. The latter is the rarer case (9 instances as against 17 of the former).

There remain the two instances of 'sonetti doppi' or 'sonetti rinterzati,' which are two names for the same thing, 'doppi' being the older, 'rinterzati' the later term (not found apparently before the fifteenth century). In this form the sonnet is expanded (1) by the insertion of a heptasyllabic line between the first and second line of each couplet, so that the quatrains are extended to six lines each; (2) by the insertion of one or two heptasyllables in each tercet, which is therefore extended to four or five lines. In Dante's two 'sonetti doppi' only one heptasyllable is inserted in each of the tercets, although this form, in which the entire sonnet consists of 22 lines, seems to have come into existence later than the sonnet of 24 lines containing two heptasyllables in each of the tercets. The two sonnets in question (nos. ii and iv) are precisely similar in the arrangement of the long and short lines and differ only in the order of the rhymes.

A further expansion of the 'sonetto doppio' is found in another sonnet attributed to Dante, viz., that on the 'council of the birds' ('quando il consiglio degli augei si tenne'), but the critics are much divided on the question of its authenticity. From a metrical point of view it is in any case abnormal, for the tercets are expanded to six lines each, the first being exactly similar to the six lines of the expanded quatrains, and the second being further irregular in introducing a fresh rhyme, as well as a different arrangement of the long and short lines, so that it differs in form from the preceding six lines.

In conclusion something may be said on a question of more general scope than the technical matters which have been the subject of this paper. It has been seen that the canzoni which are undoubtedly authentic are on the whole in harmony with the doctrine of the second book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. It has however been asserted that in another respect Dante's greatest work is in flagrant contradiction with this book, is, in fact, a repudiation of it: on the ground that in the treatise it is maintained that the greatest themes, viz., 'arms,' 'love,' and 'virtue,' are to be treated in the most excellent style, that of the 'cantiones' or 'canzoni,' whereas in the *Divine Comedy* the greatest themes are treated in a totally different form of poetry, such as might be classed with the 'alios illegitimos et irregulares modos' which are contrasted with the canzone, the ballata, and the sonnet in *De Vulg. Eloq.*, ii, 3, l. 10. It would be strange if there were this complete divorce between the theory of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and the practice of the *Divine Comedy*, which must, at least, have been begun soon after the second book of the treatise was written. But is this a necessary or a natural conclusion? In the first place it must be remembered that the second book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* deals only with lyrical poetry, and that the subject-matter and general design of the *Comedy* preclude lyrical treatment. If it be maintained that according to Dante the highest subjects can only be treated worthily in the form of the canzone, we are reduced to the absurdity of supposing that Dante must have regarded the treatment of such subjects in an epic form as inadmissible. In the second place it must be borne in mind that the canzone is, according to the treatise, the form appropriate to the 'tragic' style alone: and the very fact that Dante himself styles his poem a 'comedy' is sufficient to shew that it must differ in style from the 'tragic' canzone. The style of the canzone is elevated throughout; may it not be said that the style of the *Comedy*, 'to which both heaven and earth have set their hand,' rises and falls in accordance with the poet's intention? This point may even be illustrated by the curious remarks which Dante makes in *De Vulg. Eloq.*, ii, 7, on certain words which are to be excluded from the 'tragic' style, i.e., the style of the canzone. One of these is 'femina' which, including 'feminetta,' occurs ten times in the *Comedy* and never in the canzoni. A second is 'greggia' which occurs six times in the *Comedy* and never in the canzoni. It may be admitted that, considering the shortness of the whole *Canzoniere* in comparison with the length of the *Comedy* the absence of these words from the canzoni may be due to accident, especially as it must also be admitted that a third word 'corpo' which is proscribed in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and is frequent in the *Comedy*, does occur once in the canzoni (viz., in l. 123 of that which is the theme of *Conv.* iv). But perhaps the most striking instances are the two words which Dante stigmatises as 'puerilia,' viz., 'mamma' and 'babbo.' Of the former there are five instances in the *Comedy*; the latter occurs once, viz., in *Inf.* xxxii, 9; where however it is to be noted that it is employed in connection with 'mamma' for a special purpose, in order to indicate childish prattle. It might of course be contended that all these are instances of the discrepancy which is asserted to exist between the two works. But it is a far simpler explanation to suppose that Dante in the *Comedy* deliberately adopted something different from the 'tragic' style; and that this is the true explanation seems to be indicated by the emphasis which is laid on the 'comic' character of the poem in the *Epistle to Can Grande*, § 10; where after a statement as to the difference between tragedy and comedy, both in subject-matter and in style, the conclusion is drawn that the poem is rightly called 'Comoedia':—'et per hoc patet, quod Comoedia dicitur praesens opus. Nam si ad materiam respiciamus, a principio horribilis et foetida est, quia *Infernus*; in fine prospera, desiderabilis et grata, quia *Paradisus.* Si ad modum loquendi, remissus est modus et humilis, quia loquutio vulgaris, in qua et mulierculae communicant.' With this may be compared *De Vulg. Eloq.* ii, 4, ll. 44–6: 'Si vero comice, tunc quandoque mediocre, quandoque humile vulgare sumatur.' It would seem then that the *Comedy*, so far from contradicting, confirms the theory of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia.*

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THE CONNECTION BETWEEN WORDS AND MUSIC IN THE SONGS OF THE TROBADORS.

In the *Rivista Musicale Italiana*, Volumes II and III, Restori has devoted an article to the melodies which accompany many of the poems in the MSS. of Provençal songs, and has dealt with the popular songs from which the Trobadors derived their poetry and music, the influence of Church music, etc. He transcribes into modern notation melodies by various Trobadors and devotes a special chapter to the songs of Peirol. He remarks that the question of the relation between metre and melody is a very complicated one and that a study of the music can help but little towards solving it. Given that the lyrico-melodic art of the Trobadors originated in popular poetry, he says, we cannot understand the nature of this art without going back to the origins, and this, beyond a certain point, we are unable to do. The oldest popular music we have (twelfth century) shows various melodic schemes independent of metrical schemes. It is probable that originally one type of melody had a corresponding type of stanza, but we do not know this. Certainly the melodies and the stanzas of the existing Trobador songs are often quite independent of each other as to form, but it may be supposed that the poets intended a connection of some sort between music and words.

In the following notes on this connection I do not attempt to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. I have based my study on some of the melodies given in three MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, Nos. 22543, 844 and 20050 of the *fonds français*, R, W and X in Bartsch's list.

On comparing the musical and metrical structure of the songs, no one can fail to be struck by the fact that the melody does not always correspond exactly with the metrical division of the stanza. In about half the cases studied, the melodies flow on without repetition of any phrase throughout the whole stanza. The metrical form of these stanzas written 'sub una oda continua' very often admits of no sub-division and it is therefore to be expected that the melody also should form an undivided whole, *e.g.* Peire Vidal's 'S'ieu fos en cort que hom tengues drechura' (melody in MS. R) in which the lines of a stanza rime not with one another but with those of the next stanza, and Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Eras no vei luzir solelh' (melody in MSS. R and W) with its 'rims derivatius,' naturally have a continuous melody. But it is less natural to find that the latter's 'Cant vei la lauzeta mover' (melody in MSS. R, W and X[1]) is written 'sub una oda continua.' The stanzas of this song are divided into two equal parts, the first four lines are sub-divided into two 'pedes' and the last four into two 'versus.' The lines are all octosyllabic and the rime system is a b a b c d c d. Yet no single line of the melody is repeated, except l. 4, which is echoed in l. 7.

As a matter of fact, the double sub-division 2 pedes + 2 versus in the melody seems very rare; when any part of the melody is divided it is almost always before the 'diesis' only. In many cases the stanza also is divided into 2 pedes + cauda, *e.g.* Iaufre Rudel's 'Lanquand li jorn son lonc en may' (melody in MSS. R, W and X[2]). But often the second half of the stanza is sub-divided, though not the second half of the melody, *e.g.* Peirol's 'Manta gens me mal razona' (melody in MS. R). In one case, on the other hand, namely Iaufre Rudel's 'Can lo rieu de la fontayna' (melody in MS. R), the form of the stanza would lead us to expect a continuous melody, but here the melody of ll. 1 and 2 is repeated in ll. 3 and 4.

It soon becomes clear that the connection between the music and the words of a poem is not merely a connection of form. Repetition of melodic phrases is a feature of the popular songs from which the Trobadors are generally supposed to have derived their art, and the 'oda continua' is, as Restori points out, a more learned form, borrowed from Church music. We do not find, however, that this repetition of melodic phrases was used only by the early Trobadors, and that as the art developed it was entirely discarded for the more advanced form. The 'oda continua' is found accompanying the songs of such early writers as Marcabru and Peire d'Alvernhe, while in those of such late Trobadors as Peire Cardenal and Guiraut Riquier a repetition of some part of the melody takes place.

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[1] Also in MS. G. Restori gives a transcription into modern notation of all four readings.

[2] Restori gives a transcription into modern notation of the version of MS. X.

What reason then had the Trobadors for repeating a melodic phrase in some songs but not in others? A comparison of some of the melodies with the stanzas to which they are sung has suggested to me that some Trobadors at least wrote their music to correspond not with the form so much as with the sense of their poetry.

As examples of music written according to the general subject of the poem we may take two melodies by Marcabru, the earliest Trobador whose music has come down to us. This Trobador employs a popular form a b a b c c d, for the music to his *pastorela* (a popular *genre*) but writes his crusading song 'sub una oda continua[1].' As Restori has remarked, this song owes much to Church music because of its subject.

We find also that some melodies are written to correspond with the special meaning of the stanza, *e.g.* the first stanza of the song by Bernart de Ventadorn alluded to above runs as follows:

> Can vei la lauzeta mover
> de ioy sas alas contra·l ray
> que s'oblida, laissa·s chazer
> per la dossor c'a·l cor li vay,
> ailas tal enveya me·n ve
> de qui qu'en veya iauzion
> meravilhas ai car desse
> lo cor de dezirier no·m fon[2].

Although the first four lines can be sub-divided into two equal parts, the *meaning* is not so divisible, *i.e.* the four lines describe the flight of the lark without any repetition of ideas: 'When I see the lark moving its wings towards the sun for joy, so that it forgets itself and lets itself sink for the sweetness that fills its heart.' The last four lines are entirely taken up with the poet's description of the emotions aroused in him by the sight of the lark: 'Alas, such envy comes to me of whomsoever I see rejoicing, I marvel that my heart does not break at once with longing.'

Here a repetition of any part of the melody would be inartistic, as serving to give prominence to the form, at the expense of the meaning, of this stanza—and indeed of any stanza in the poem. I found several other poems written, like this one, 'sub una oda continua,' the stanzas of which were metrically sub-divided.

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[1] The four existing melodies by Marcabru, 'Dirai vos senes doptansa,' 'Bel m'es quan son li fruit madur,' 'Pax in nomine Domini' and 'L'autrier jost'una sebissa' have been published in *Quatre poésies de Marcabru* by MM. Jeanroy, Dejeanne and Aubry. A transcription of the two I mention is given by Restori.

[2] As the melodies I mention are all taken from MS. R, I have given the texts also as they stand in MS. R, only correcting a few obvious mistakes.

The first stanza of another song by Bernart de Ventadorn runs as follows (melody in MSS. R and W[1]):

> Can par la flor iosta·l vert fuelh
> e vei lo tems clar e sere
> et aug lo chan[s] d'auzels pel bruelh
> que m'adossa·l cor e·m reve,
> mais l'auzel chanton a lauzor
> ieu plus ai de ioi en mon cor.
> dei ben chantar car tug li miei iornal
> son ioi e chan que no pens de ren al[s].

Here the first four lines can be sub-divided, not only because of their form but because of their meaning as well. In them the poet describes the beauties of spring: 'When the flower appears by the green leaf, and I see the weather clear and bright, and hear the song of the birds in the wood, which sweetens and gladdens my heart.' The four lines, though all given up to the description of the springtime, can be easily broken up into sub-divisions of sense, and so the melody accompanying the two lines which describe the flowers and the bright weather is repeated in the third and fourth lines which describe the birds' song.

This sub-division of the first half of the stanza into two identical melodic phrases is used by Bernart de Ventadorn in several songs, and in no case does the repetition of the phrase accord badly with the meaning of the words.

It is usually the first stanza with the meaning of which the music seems to correspond best in cases where certain phrases are repeated, but this is only natural, as the poets probably had the first stanza specially in their minds when composing the melodies.

Among other songs whose music is divided into 2 pedes + cauda is the 'Alba' of Guiraut de Bornelh (melody in MS. R[2]), another example of a popular form of poetry set to a popular form of music. In this song the melody of l. 1 is repeated in l. 2, the remainder of the stanza being sung to a different melody. The effect of this repetition is especially artistic in the first stanza, but it is quite suitable in all except, perhaps, the fifth and sixth.

It is not always easy to understand why the second as well as the first half of a stanza should not be musically sub-divided, when the meaning would permit of it. Take for example a song by Peirol (melody in MS. R[1], where the song is attributed to Peire Vidal); its first stanza runs:

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[1] Also in MS. G.

[2] A transcription is given by Restori. See also E. Bohm in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, vol. cx, p. 113 ff. Bohm has written a piano accompaniment to this beautiful melody, and to Peirol's 'Manta gens me mal razona,' mentioned below.

Manta ien[s] me mal razona
car ieu non chant pus soven,
mais aisel que m'ochayzona
no sap cosi longamen
m'a tengut en greu pessamen
sil que mon cor[s] m'enprezona,
tot ay perdut iauzimen
tal desconort me dona.

The first four lines of the melody are divided into two pedes, but the last four are undivided.

The repetition of a melodic phrase in the second as well as the first half of a stanza is not at all usual. The only examples I have come across are the 'Canson redonda' of Guiraut Riquier, Bernart de Ventadorn's 'Pus mi preiatz, senhor' and Peire Vidal's 'Baros de mon dan covit' (these melodies are all in MS. R[2]). The melody of the 'Canson redonda' corresponds exactly with the form of the stanza, *i.e.* the melody of ll. 1 and 2 is repeated for ll. 3 and 4, l. 5 having a different phrase, and the melody of ll. 6 and 7 is repeated for ll. 8 and 9, l. 10 having another new phrase. The first stanza of the song by Bernart de Ventadorn runs as follows:

Pus mi preiatz, senhor
qu'ieu chant, ieu chantarai,
e cant cug chantar, plor
mantas ves que essai.
greu veiretz chantador
ben chan can mal l'estai,
a mi del mal d'amor
va mielhs que no fes may,
e doncx perque'm n'esmai?

This song may almost be said to have the division 2 pedes + 2 versus, for the melody of ll. 1 and 2 is repeated in ll. 3 and 4, and that of ll. 5 and 6 in ll. 7 and 8. There is, however, a ninth line which has a different melodic phrase. This division of the melody suits the meaning of the stanza fairly well, but the same can hardly be said of 'Baros de mon dan covit':

Baros de mon dan covit,
fals lauzengiers deslials,
car en tal don' ai chauzit
on es beutatz naturals,

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[1] Transcribed by Restori. See Note 2 on p. 332.
[2] 'Pus mi preiatz, senhor' is also in MS. G.

e tot aquo que tanh a cortesia,
be soi astrucx sol que mos cors lai sia,
car sa valors e son fin pretz pareis[1]
denan totas c'anc d'amor no s(e) feis,
per que soi ricx s'ela·m denha dir d'oc.

The melody of l. 1 is repeated in ll. 2, 3 and 4, except that the last note of ll. 2 and 4 is a tone lower than in the other lines. The melody of l. 5 is repeated in l. 6 only—and not quite exactly, and that of l. 7 in l. 8—also not quite exactly, while l. 9 has yet another phrase.

Guiraut de Bornelh's 'Leu chansonet' e vil,' which has a nine-line stanza, is differently divided. The melody of ll. 1 and 2 is repeated in ll. 5 and 6, but ll. 3 and 4 differ from ll. 7 and 8. This arrangement, however, clearly marks the division of the eight short lines into two equal parts.

Other unusual forms are found (1) in 'Conortz aras say yeu be' of Bernart de Ventadorn (melody in MS. R[2]), where the melody of the first four lines is repeated in the remaining four, though the rime system of the second half of the stanza differs from that of the first half. The sense, however, is similar in both halves:

Conortz aras say yeu be
que vos de me non pensatz,
que salutz ni amistatz
ni messatges no me·n ve.
be sai trop fas lonc aten,
et er be semblanz huey may
que so qu'ieu cas autre pren
pus no me·n ven aventura.

(2) In 'No m'agrad' iverns ni pascors' of Raimbaut de Vaqueiras. Here the melody of ll. 1—4 is repeated in ll. 9—12, ll. 5—8 having a different melody. The long stanza falls naturally into these subdivisions, but it must be admitted that there is no greater similarity in sense between the first and third parts than there is between the first and second, or the second and third.

In a few cases, certain phrases of the melody are repeated, but not in such a way as to make the whole melody regularly divisible. In two such cases it almost looks as if the similarity between two lines of music is due to an error of the copyist. In the version given in MS. R of Bernart de Ventadorn's 'La dossa votz ai auzida,' the melody of l. 1 corresponds exactly with that of l. 3. In the same MS., the third line of Peire Vidal's 'Anc non mori per amor ni per al' has the same melody as the sixth line. In the versions of MS. X, however, there is no such correspondence in 'Anc non mori,' while in 'La dossa votz' it is the fourth line, not the third, that corresponds (not quite exactly in this MS.) with the first.

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[1] MS. R has *plazens*.

[2] Also in MS. G.

The other cases are more interesting. One is 'Can l'erba fresqu'e·l fuelha par' of Bernart de Ventadorn (melody in MS. R). Here the first line has the melody of the fourth and the fifth that of the sixth. It might be expected that the melody of the first half of this stanza would be divided into two pedes, as the sense of the first stanza would well permit of it, though the other stanzas divide less easily. The conclusion of the first half of the stanza is instead marked by the repetition of the first phrase in the fourth line. As line 6 of stanza I gives a sort of echo of line 5:

ioi ai de luy e ioi ai de la flor,
ioi ai de mi e de midous maior—

so the music is echoed, with good artistic effect.

The other song is by Guiraut de Bornelh. Only four melodies by this Trobador have come down to us, and all are given in MS. R only. Two, the 'Alba' and 'S'ie·us quier cosselh, bell'ami' Alamanda,' are written in the regular 2 pedes + cauda form, while the division of 'Leu chansonet'e vil' has already been mentioned. If the remaining example is a fair specimen of this poet's melodies, he must have spent as much care over the music as he did over the words of his songs. It is the song 'Non puesc sofrir c'a la dolor' (on which the famous war-song 'Be·m platz lo gais temps de pascor' is modelled):

Non puesc sofrir c'a la dolor
de ma den la lengua no vir,
e·l cor[1] a la novela flor
lancant vey los ramels florir
e·ls chans fors pel boscatie
de·ls auzeletz enamoratz,
e sitot m'estau apessatz,
ni pres de mal usatie,
cant vey cams ni vergiers ni pratz
ie·m renovel e m'asolatz.

Here the melody of the first line is repeated in the fourth, and that of the third line in the seventh. The first half of the first line is also repeated in the first half of the eighth—one of the two hexasyllabic lines in the stanza. The first four syllables of the other hexasyllabic line (l. 5) have the melody of the first half of the second line.

It cannot be said that this song is a good illustration of the theory that the music is written to correspond with the meaning of the poetry. The repeated melodic phrases do not help the sense of the words in any stanza. Perhaps Guiraut de Bornelh, being decidedly a formalist, thought more of the form than of the meaning of his stanza when he set it to music, for the form of the melody can be shown to correspond with that of the poem. The diesis, according to the metrical arrangement of the stanza, falls after the fourth line, and the melody of l. 1 is repeated in l. 4 to mark the close of the first half of the stanza—as in the song by Bernart de Ventadorn quoted above. The melody of l. 3 of the second half (l. 7 of the whole stanza) equals that of l. 3 of the first half, and the two shorter lines, 5 and 8, echo the first half of the second and first lines respectively.

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[1] MS. R has *chant*.

The repetition of half a line of music is not unusual, *e.g.* the melody of the first part of l. 3 of Guiraut de Bornelh's ‘Alba’ is repeated in the second part of l. 4.

The reading in MS. W of ‘Can vei la lauzeta mover’ has the first half of the melody of l. 2 more or less exactly echoed in ll. 4, 5 and 7. In the reading of MS. R, however, this is not the case (though in both MSS. l. 4 and l. 7 are identical), but the melodies given in these two MSS. for this song are obviously only variants of the same melody.

BARBARA SMYTHE.

SHAKSPERE'S PLAYS: AN EXAMINATION.

I.

After more than a century of wrangling and bickering the critics have arrived at substantial agreement, not indeed as to the actual dates, nor even except in a general way as to the chronological order of the plays of Shakspere, but as to the periods to which the several plays belong. It does not follow that they are right or that the matter is to be regarded as definitely settled. Majorities have been wrong before to-day, and some of the universally held beliefs of the mid-nineteenth century are universally scouted in the twentieth. One may then be pardoned for approaching the question of the chronology of the Shakspere plays with an open mind, neither willing to accept views *because* they are generally held nor desirous of contradicting them in a mere spirit of perversity.

It is evident that much depends upon the way in which the accepted opinions have been arrived at. It is asserted that the question has been approached from two sides—firstly, that of external and internal evidence of the date of production; and secondly, that of internal evidence of the date of composition. If, as we are assured, these two means of determination yield the same result, the case for the conclusions arrived at is indeed strong; but it is necessary to exercise care to see that facts have not been wrested from their true meaning to make them fit the exigencies of the case and bring about an agreement that has no basis of reality.

The external evidence of production may sometimes fix a downward date (that is to say, the latest possible), but rarely an upward date. As regards the plays that first appeared in the folio, the scope is almost altogether that of Shakspere's life in London—perhaps even more extensive than that—while the plays published in quarto are limited in downward date only by the date of publication. The internal evidence as to the date of production is of partial use only; for, though most of the plays contain allusions to current events, a difficulty arises from the fact that revisions of old plays were constantly being made, and that revivals were usually marked by topical interpolations.

The date of composition may be determined in either of two ways—by the character and tone of the play, or by the style of the writing. The former is largely relied upon by the critics, but is of very doubtful value. Shakspere's bitter plays need not have been all of one period, nor need his joytime have been confined to one small patch of three or four years: nor yet do resemblances in plot between any two plays necessarily imply nearness of composition. This means of determination is not without its merits: it is possible to distinguish between the young man's outlook in life and the old man's, between the passion and ardour of youth and the mature thought of the man who is past middle age; but it affords no very solid working ground. The other means of determination—style—is tolerably safe, if the criterion be sound and the authorship be sure. If these two conditions (which, indeed, are but one condition) be fulfilled, there is no safer test by which to determine the chronology of Shakspere's plays; but if any blunder be made as to authorship, there is no test which can be so utterly misleading. It follows then that the first thing to be decided in an attempted determination of dates is the authorship of the various plays that pass under the name of Shakspere, and the various acts and scenes and portions of scenes that make up those plays.

It is to be noted that inclusion in the first folio affords no proof whatever of Shakspere's sole authorship, any more than omission from the folio is decisive proof against his authorship. (The circumstance that a copy of the folio is in existence in which the *Winter's Tale* does not find a place is evidence enough of the latter fact.) All the folio may reasonably be held to claim is that with the writing of every play it contains Shakspere had something to do—perhaps much, perhaps little: at least, something. The publication of a play in quarto with an attribution to Shakspere is quite another matter. In such a case there is good ground for believing that the play is entirely his, unless the text be very corrupt, in which case it is possible that the attribution is no more reliable *in toto* than is the text.

For deciding the authorship of the thirty-six plays included in the folio (and at first it is well to take no note of any other play), one is then thrown back on other means than those afforded by the title-pages of the quartos or the first folio. Various minds will turn to various means: some to the indefinable literary quality we know as 'style'; some to the mechanism of the verse; some to the characterisation;

some to the vocabulary, the grammatical construction, the formation of the sentences; some to the tone, the habit of thought, the imaginative quality, the throb of life in the dialogue; some to the conduct of the plot, the knowledge of the requirements of the public stage. All are useful in their way, but nothing like a secure basis is afforded by any except that mentioned first. Tests based on the mechanism of the verse would be of very considerable value were not results liable to vitiation by printers' errors and actors' interpolations; but in any case their use would be only to confirm or modify views otherwise arrived at. Such tests have been largely used in establishing the chronological order of the plays, but obviously the authorship of every scene has to be ascertained before their employment can be of any real value. It is in style—and in style alone—that any sound basis for a determination of authorship can be found, the verse mechanism, the characterisation, the tone, and the other means suggested being used only for confirmation or otherwise.

If then it be necessary to settle the question of the authorship of the different divisions of the various plays by a consideration of style, the question arises, is the style of Shakspere sufficiently distinct to enable his work to be distinguished from that of his contemporaries? The matter is complicated by the supposed changes of manner which are asserted to mark his work at different periods, these periods being held to number four; but, however the really individual early work of any Elizabethan dramatist (after he was out of the apprentice and imitative stage) may differ from his late work, the difference will be found to be one of degree only, the general characteristics remaining much the same throughout. Unless Shakspere differed from his fellows, it will probably be found that his manner while striving for an individual style was not so vastly different from his manner when it had been attained, or even from his manner when it had become a second nature to him. That is to be seen; if it be so, Shakspere's work should be separable from the non-Shaksperian; if not, the task of investigation will be rendered very difficult indeed.

A division of Shakspere's dramatic effort into four periods is reasonable enough; but it is not to be expected that the last play of one period will differ very appreciably from the first play of the succeeding period; nor is it advisable for other reasons to effect the division on a basis of style. It would be more natural to divide the poet's play-production into four periods by important events in his career than according to the characteristics of his dramatic work.

On this principle the event which marks off his first period from his second may be taken to be Greene's splenetic reference to him in 1592, a proof that he had won his spurs, and was beginning to be reckoned with. That the recognition was not general is evident from the nature of Greene's remarks, and the attack probably had the unexpected effect of helping Shakspere along the road to success. The second mark of a change in his fortunes is afforded by his purchase of New Place in 1597. By that time he had won fame as well as a competency; and, had he retired from the theatre even then, he would have been considered a highly successful adventurer in the dubious region of stage enterprise. Henceforward all he did was of the greatest interest in the theatrical world: he was a name as well as a personality, a writer to be imitated, a dramatist who was the vogue. His name was one to conjure with and to trade on. It was his retirement from the stage which ended this third portion of his dramatic career. The date of that event is by no means certain, but it may be set down as belonging to the year 1604. When he ceased to act, Shakspere must have deemed himself in affluent circumstances, and thenceforward he was not tied to London as he had hitherto been, but was able to live the life of a country gentleman, with frequent visits to the metropolis to look after his theatrical interests and perhaps supervise the production of his later dramatic works.

For the student of Shaksperian drama this partition has an advantage in that, while any great change of style between the last play of one period as ordinarily reckoned and the first of the next is out of the question, there is reason to regard the position of the dramatist as undergoing such changes at the division dates here set down that the circumstances of composition after any one of them may be considered as entirely differing from those previously existing. In his first period Shakspere doubtless acted mainly as assistant or pupil to some dramatist of established reputation, though it is highly probable that he also tried his hand alone at work imitative of that of his betters. If he collaborated on equal terms with any one, it can have been only with another novice, and if he altered the old plays of others he did so only in a subordinate capacity, under instructions or under supervision. When he had shown himself a man to be reckoned with, a dramatist not incapable of good independent work (that is to say when his second period had been entered upon), his work would be done alone or in collaboration on equal terms with other professional dramatists. As his first period was that of apprenticeship, so his third was that of mastership. If in this period he took part in the writing of plays not entirely his own he did so not as equal, but as tutor, supervisor or fitter of the work of younger men, or as farmer-out of work for which he had no time or in which he was not sufficiently interested. During both this period and the preceding one the bulk of his work was however no doubt done independently of others, most of the time not given to original work or to revision of his own early plays being devoted to the overhauling and touching up of the works of other dramatists dead or no longer connected with his company, a species of hack work which he may have been glad in the earlier period to share with a collaborator and in the later to farm out to some other dramatist. In the last period everything is changed by reason of his long sojournings at Stratford. It is more than probable that he often came to London or left London with a play incomplete, in which case some other playwright would be called in to finish off the fragment. His own work would almost certainly be done alone, and he would probably devote a portion of his spare time to the re-writing of some of his early work with which he was dissatisfied. During his long absences from the metropolis, however, it would often be deemed advisable to revive in amended form some of his early plays, and accordingly for the first time it would be the lot of his dramas to fall into other than his own hands for revision, a fate to which they would be subject thenceforward right up to the publication of the folio. These are nothing more than probabilities, and may be found on an examination of the plays to differ from facts in several particulars; but, without assuming their correctness, they may be held to form a good working ground of supposition, likely to be of value when the investigator is endeavouring to determine the probabilities in favour of conclusions he has arrived at on a basis of style.

Whether Shakspere's manner differed materially in his fourth period from what it was in his third, or even what it was in the second (his period of experiment) is perhaps best determined by a consideration in their entirety of those plays that, judging by style, are not the result of collaboration or the patching of one man's work by another, and by a comparison of those of them that were actually published during the early part of his third period (and that therefore very probably belong to the second) with those that there is good reason to regard as belonging to the fourth. Let not this be misunderstood. To look for a play in which every word is William Shakspere's is, in all probability, a vain task. It may well be that we have no Elizabethan drama just as it was written, unless it was given to the printer by its author or authors, and not always then. Interpolations by the actors occur, it may be presumed, in almost every acted play; and, when these are confined to oaths and exclamations and a few odd witticisms, they are not detachable except when they have the effect of spoiling the run of the verse. When it is said that a play is wholly Shakspere's or wholly Marlowe's or wholly Middleton's, there must always be this reservation; and, that being made, an examination will show that, of the thirty-six plays in the folio, comparatively few are certainly of single authorship. Other plays are possibly or even probably entirely the work of one author, but there are only fourteen of which a single authorship can (on style) be predicated with anything like certainty. These are *All's Well*, *Antony*, *As You Like It*, *Hamlet*, *2 Henry IV*, *John*, *Julius Caesar*, *Measure for Measure*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Much Ado*, *Othello*, *Richard II*, *Troilus*, and *Twelfth Night*; and, unless the inclusion of some one or more of them in the folio be without justification, the author must in every case be Shakspere. It is plain, moreover, that it is the one writer at work in every one of them. Taking *Richard II* as amongst the earliest of these plays, and *Antony* as the latest, it is tolerably plain that the writer of the latter is the writer of the former, with his style more fully developed and his intellect matured. These are two good plays to take for purposes of comparison, not only because, of the fourteen named, the one is probably the earliest (in its entirety) and the other the latest, but also because they are two of the only three (the other being the second part of *Henry IV*) that there is no reason to look upon as of more than one date of composition. *John*, *All's Well*, *Much Ado*, *Twelfth Night*, *Julius Caesar*, *Othello*, and *Troilus* have apparently one and all been subjected to more or less re-writing; but, though the earlier work has to be separated from the later, it is evidently the work of the one hand. Here then there is sufficient to give a safe basis for an estimate of Shakspere's dramatic manner and style of versification during the three really vital periods of his career as author, for *Richard II*, first given to the reading public in 1597, must belong to the second period, and *Antony*, entered for publication in May 1608, almost certainly belongs to the fourth.

To take these plays as affording a basis for knowledge of Shakspere's style may not seem a very novel or revolutionary proposal, but it is in reality calculated to yield results very different from those obtained by the ordinary method, which has been to assume that all in the folio not lifted from other plays, not too bad to be Shakspere's, or not markedly the work of another must be his. The assumption is unwarranted, and the outcome can hardly fail to be unsatisfactory. Not only is it liable to cause errors in the attribution of individual plays, but it is also calculated to afford an entirely wrong conception of Shakspere's style.

Having determined for himself which of the plays show absolute unity of style (for no one should accept the opinion of any one else on such a matter), and having carefully studied these until he has arrived at a clear knowledge of the manner of the great dramatist as displayed in these particular works, the investigator should then examine closely the other plays and bring every portion of every one of them under some one or other of four different headings, grouping together (1) those that, by reason of their general resemblance to the matter on which his knowledge of Shakspere's style is based, he would know to be Shakspere's wherever they occurred; (2) those that, though not distinctively Shaksperian, have no qualities opposing themselves to the idea of Shakspere's authorship, and that may be judged by their environment to be his; (3) those that are possibly Shaksperian, but exhibit none of his distinguishing characteristics, and appear in circumstances that invite suspicion; and (4) those that are clearly not Shakspere's. When he has done this he will treat the first two as genuine, the others as spurious, and on the former and on the plays he has previously selected as certainly of single authorship will form his final and comprehensive view of the Shaksperian manner; and he will then and not till then be ready to proceed to a determination of the chronology of the genuine work of Shakspere.

In this way, and in this way alone, may a satisfactory knowledge of Shakspere's manner at the close of his career be obtained. His last play was, if the external evidence may be trusted, *Henry VIII.* Spedding proved over half a century ago that part of the play was from the pen of Fletcher, and later critics (Fleay, Boyle, and Oliphant) have discovered the presence of Massinger also. Massinger's work was evidently done for a late revival, consisting of the prologue, the epilogue, the opening scene as far as the Cardinal's entry, a revision of Shakspere's work in I. 2 and II. 3 (very slight in the former), and a revision of Fletcher's in I. 3, IV. 1 (to the procession), V. 3 (to the guard's entry), and that part of II. 2 lying between the discovery of the King and Gardiner's entry. The rest of the play is Fletcher's, with the exception of the latter part of I. 1, II. 4, that portion of III. 2 during which the

King is on the stage (the preceding portion showing the presence of both Shakspere and Fletcher), and V. 1. From these four scenes and portions of scenes a clear idea of Shakspere's latest style (if the external evidence as to date be not misleading) is to be obtained. They show that, as has been said, the change in style from the second period is not great. Compare, for example, the Duke of Norfolk's second speech in *Richard II* with any passage in the latter part (that is to say the part succeeding the Cardinal's entry) of the first scene of this play, in which appears a later Duke of Norfolk.

The advance is great doubtless, but the hand is the same. A better distribution of pauses, the dropping of even final rhyme, the adoption of the weak-ending habit: this is practically the sum total of the development. This is said in no depreciatory spirit; on the contrary it is said in the belief that, were there no play of Shakspere's extant later than *Richard II*, he would still be known as the pre-eminent master of the poetry enshrined in the drama of the Elizabethan period. What it is desired to impress upon those who urge so strongly the difference between the Shaksperian verse of the fourth period and that of the second (that of the first may be excluded from present consideration as belonging to the imitative stage) is that at the end of Shakspere's career, his verse was in all essentials nearer to that of his experimental period than to the verse of his great contemporaries—Jonson and Webster and Fletcher. In his later years he moved nearer to Fletcher, nearer to Beaumont, nearer to Massinger, but his work remained distinct from theirs; and he never lost his weighty utterance.

II.

It need not perhaps be wondered at that it is in the final plays of Shakspere that a radical examination of his dramatic output yields the most curious results. As has been pointed out, while the poet was living at Stratford-on-Avon and making periodical visits to the metropolis, it is likely that sometimes when he left London he left behind him work in an imperfect state. If so, his later plays should show traces of other hands than his. The honest investigator will not assume that such was the case any more than he would take it for granted that no hand but Shakspere's was to be found in them. Probabilities he must consider only after he has made his examination; and he must also decline to be bound by the general body of critical opinion, which however it may be as well to state here.

Of the four plays almost unanimously regarded as Shakspere's last contributions to the literature of the stage, his authorship of *Winter's Tale* has never been questioned (save by Baconians), only a portion of one scene of *Cymbeline* is regarded as doubtful, but few critics have dared to rob him of the credit of the introduced masque in *The Tempest*, and as regards *Henry VIII* there is substantial agreement that it is only partly his. The last-named has been dealt with already incidentally: of the others, a beginning may be made with *The Tempest.*

Opinion is divided as to whether this play, *Winter's Tale*, or *Henry VIII* closed Shakspere's career as a dramatist. Those who favour *The Tempest* maintain that the play is allegorical, and that the poet, as Prospero, breaks his wand, frees his spirit, and declares his intention of giving no more play to his imagination. On behalf of *Henry VIII* there is the explicit contemporary declaration that it was performed for the first time (under the name of *All is True*) in 1613; while the case for *Winter's Tale* rests on the ingenious argument that when Shakspere varied from the story on which the play was based by not setting Perdita afloat in a rudderless boat, it was because he had already used such an incident in *The Tempest.* Whatever may be the date of the latter (and that is a matter of some doubt, for, while the general opinion favours the year 1610 or 1611, some few critics, not of the modern school, have declared for much earlier dates, and one or two whose opinions are worthy of respect hold to 1613), it must be later than 1609, in which year was published a Spanish novelette containing the plot of the story. The lateness of its date is of interest for many reasons, amongst others because its tone is in marked contrast to that of every other one of the plays that the critics are agreed in regarding as the latest efforts of the great poet. *Coriolanus* belongs to the tragedies, *Timon* is loathsomely morbid and bitter, *Henry VIII*, the last of the ten chronicle plays that figure in the folio, is sad-toned, unrelieved by any of the gaiety of *Henry IV* or *Henry V* (its immediate predecessors in its own class), and *Winter's Tale* and *Cymbeline* are plays that are tragic in tone, though happy in ending. *The Tempest* is neither tragi-comedy, like these, nor pure comedy, like *Love's Labor's Lost, The Comedy of Errors, The Taming of the Shrew, A Midsummer Night's Dream*, or *The Merry Wives.* Serious in plot yet never threatening tragedy, it lies midway between the two, among the serio-comedies, with *Two Gentlemen, All's Well, Much Ado, Twelfth Night*, and *As You Like It.* For anything resembling the merry fooling of its Trinculo scenes, it is necessary to go back to *All's Well*, to *Twelfth Night*, to *As You Like It*, to *Much Ado*. The sombreness of *Measure for Measure*, the savagery of *Timon*, the cynicism of *Troilus* are gone, and in their place are the mirthfulness and spontaneous gaiety of youth. If *The Tempest* indeed date after 1609, Shakspere was showing that he, who had not laughed for a decade, was as capable of fun-making as he had been in his prime. It is rare indeed for a man verging on fifty to be able to thus recapture the joyousness of youth.

Two of the most esteemed of modern critics, Dr Garnett and Mr Nicholson, have expressed opinions concerning this play that are worthy of note. The former explains its brevity by supposing that it was written for a private performance: the latter considers that it underwent an entire re-casting, and that Shakspere, who had at first had Lampedusa in his mind, was, when revising, chiefly concerned with the occurrences in the Bermudas related in Jourdan's tract. It is indeed obvious that there has been a revision: the allusion to the Duke of Milan's son (in I. 2) affords sufficient proof of it, and in the same scene Prospero's 'Soft, Sir! One word more,' when the previous words are not given is a token of curtailment. But that the reviser was Shakspere himself is not so easy to credit, for there are two quite distinct styles observable in the play. Here are two consecutive speeches from III. 1:

Fer. Admir'd Miranda:
Indeed the top of admiration; worth
What's dearest to the world! Full many a lady
I have eyed with best regard; and many a time
The harmony of their tongues hath into bondage
Brought my too diligent ear; for several virtues
Have I lik'd several women; never any
With so full soul, but some defect in her
Did quarrel with the noblest grace she ow'd,
And put it to the foil; But you, O you,
So perfect, and so peerless, are created
Of every creature's best.

Mira. I do not know
One of my sex; no woman's face remember,
Save, from my glass, mine own; nor have I seen
More that I may call men, than you, good friend,
And my dear father: how features are abroad,
I am skill-less of: but, by my modesty
(The jewel in my dower), I would not wish
Any companion in the world but you;
Nor can imagination form a shape,
Beside yourself, to like of: But I prattle
Something too widely, and my father's precepts
I therein do forget.

The former of these is unquestionably Shakspere's; the authenticity of the latter also has never been questioned, and yet how different is it from the preceding speech, how unlike the stately measure of the verse of the master! The manner is distinct; it is that of Massinger: and it is found here and there throughout the play. It is to be noticed first in I. 3 mixed with Shakspere's, and in the next scene it is to be discerned similarly in that portion extending from the falling asleep to the waking (and perhaps also in the earlier part). What follows, except perhaps the concluding couplet, is quite unlike Shakspere and is entirely in the manner of Massinger—indeed, in my opinion, *is* Massinger's. The next scene is Shakspere's. The first scene of the third act contains the two speeches quoted above. The half-dozen speeches immediately preceding them may contain a little of Massinger, but are at least mainly the work of Shakspere, while what follows to the departure of the lovers, is wholly or mainly Massinger's. As far as Ariel's entry, the next scene bears all the marks of Shakspere: beyond that point the authorship is mixed. The following scene also contains the work of both authors. The first two speeches are by Shakspere, and the succeeding portion to Ariel's exit is by Massinger. The masque in IV. 1 is not like any acknowledged work of Massinger's: and, if not Shakspere's, may be the production of another writer. The final act shows the presence of both Shakspere and Massinger. The epilogue is Massinger's. Looking back on the scenes where Massinger's work is to be detected alone, either entirely superseding Shakspere's or adding something new, it may be noted that in III. 1, which is begun and ended by Shakspere, the interpolated or substituted work of the reviser is certainly helpful but not absolutely necessary. The voice is the voice of Massinger and the hand is not the hand of Shakspere. What could be more like the dramatist of the still great decadence than the tone and manner of this?

Fer. Wherefore weep you?
Mira. At mine unworthiness, that dare not offer
What I desire to give: and much less take
What I shall die to want: But this is trifling;
And all the more it seeks to hide itself,
The bigger bulk it shows. Hence, bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me;
If not I'll die your maid.

In III. 3 the Massinger portion might be lifted out entire. It takes the place of a dumb show. In IV. 1 Massinger has clearly written all round the masque—the speeches preceding it, the conversation of the onlookers, and the three speeches immediately succeeding it. It is possible that the masque is his, taking the place of a dumb show; or it may be that the masque already existed in its present form and that he has, as suggested, merely introduced and written round it. His work ends abruptly, and Shakspere's, clear and untouched, begins with Prospero's best and longest speech. It is to be noted that the whole of the Massinger portion may be lifted out of the scene without any harm being done.

Those who are loth to believe that any of this famous play can be from the pen of any other than Shakspere may be asked how they account for the differences between the verse of the portions here indicated as Massinger's and those classed as Shakspere's. The idea of Shakspere writing one moment in his own style and the next in the style of Massinger is too silly for consideration; and that part of the play is Massinger's should be obvious to anyone acquainted with the manner and the mannerisms of that dramatist. Before quitting consideration of this play mention may be made of the circumstance that in it the name Stephano is pronounced with the accent on the first syllable, whereas in *The Merchant of Venice* it is accentuated correctly, whence it was inferred by one old-time critic that *The Tempest* was the earlier of the two plays. The inference was both ingenious and reasonable; and, though later critics have brushed it aside, because the evidence of a late date for *The Tempest* was too strong to be rejected, it has always remained a difficulty in the way of the inquirer who is not ready to make facts fit theories. The difficulty is however overcome when it is seen that in v. 1 (the only scene in which the pronunciation is distinct) it is Massinger, not Shakspere, who is responsible for this divergence from the pronunciation of *The Merchant of Venice.*

Of the twelve plays that are classed as tragedies in the first folio, only nine are rightly classified. *Timon* is presumably so placed because the hero dies, even though the death, which is surrounded with mystery, occurs off the stage. *Troilus and Cressida* has even less claim to rank with those legitimately entitled to be in the list, for it is a tragedy only by reason of the death of a subordinate, though a very noble, character. Smallest of all is the claim of *Cymbeline,* in which the only deaths (both off the stage) are those of the two villains (male and female), and in which, like the tragi-comedy it is, the tragic tone of the play throughout does not prevent its ending happily. Why should *Winter's Tale, Measure for Measure,* and *The Merchant of Venice* all find a place with the comedies, and *Cymbeline*, which is of similar character, with the tragedies? It may have been obtained too late to find a place among the comedies; and the only other reasonable explanation of the circumstance is that it was originally written as a tragedy, and afterwards given a happy ending, though such a view is scarcely supported by an examination of the play.

That it is, with the exception of the vision, wholly Shakspere's has never been doubted, yet what would anyone who, though well acquainted with the great dramas of Shakspere, had never read *Cymbeline* say of the following?

Cor. But I beseech your grace (without offence—
My conscience bids me ask) wherefore you have
Commanded of me these most poisonous compounds,
Which are the movers of a languishing death;
But, though slow, deadly?
Queen. I wonder, doctor,
Thou ask'st me such a question: Have I not been
Thy pupil long? Hast thou not learn'd me how
To make perfumes? distil? preserve? yea, so,
That our great king himself doth woo me oft
For my confections? Having thus far proceeded,
(Unless thou think'st me devilish) is 't not meet
That I did amplify my judgment in
Other conclusions? I will try the forces
Of these thy compounds on such creatures as
We count not worth the hanging (but none human),
To try the vigour of them, and apply
Allayments to their act; and by them gather
Their several virtues, and effects.
Cor. Your highness
Shall from this practice but make hard your heart:
Besides, the seeing these effects will be
Both noisome and infectious.
Queen. O, content thee.

If possessed of a knowledge of the other great Jacobean dramatists equal to his knowledge of Shakspere, the reader would without much hesitation declare this passage to be due to Massinger. He would be right. Nowhere else in the scene is the touch of this playwright manifest, and it is noticeable that the passage quoted may be lifted out without any injury to either the sense or the action. Consider the scene without it—

Queen. Whiles yet the dew 's on ground, gather those flowers:
Make haste: who has the note of them?
1st *Lady.* I, madam.
Queen. Despatch.
Now, master doctor, have you brought those drugs?
Cor. Pleaseth your highness, ay: here they are, madam:

Enter Pisanio.

Queen. Here comes a flattering rascal; upon him (*Aside.*)
Will I first work: he's for his master,
And enemy to my son.—How now, Pisanio?
Doctor, your service for this time is ended;
Take your own way.

Cor. I do suspect you, madam;
But you shall do no harm. (*Aside.*)

Queen. Hark thee, a word—

Cor. I do not like her. She doth think she has
Strange lingering poisons; I do know her spirit,
And will not trust one of her malice with
A drug of such damn'd nature. These she has
Will stupify and dull the sense awhile;
Which first, perchance, she'll prove on cats and dogs;
Then afterwards up higher; but there is
No danger in what show of death it makes,
More than the locking up the spirits a time,
To be more fresh, reviving. She is fool'd
With a most false effect; and I the truer
So to be false with her.

Queen. No further service, doctor,
Until I send for thee.

Cor. I humbly take my leave.

There is nothing lacking here; and, if our hypothetical student, free from prejudice and free from a knowledge of *Cymbeline*, attributed the omitted portion to Massinger, it would tell in favour of his view that the passage is so easily detachable. It is indeed an insertion in a scene otherwise Shaksperian.

If Massinger touched up one scene he is likely to have touched up others; and so it proves. His work superimposed on Shakspere's is found in II. 4, in III. 1, and in part of V. 5, while passages entirely attributable to him, in which he has either replaced the work of another or has inserted something he deemed necessary are four speeches (beginning '*Imo.* Oh for such means') in III. 4, all III. 6 except the opening speech, III. 7, the last five speeches of V. 3, the first two speeches of V. 4, the whole of V. 5 to the entry of Lucius, the short conversation (six speeches) of Belarius, Arviragus and Guiderius, in the same scene, while Cymbeline and Imogen talk apart, the passage beginning '*Cym.* He was a Prince' and ending 'Mighty Sir' (32 verses, 51 lines), three speeches beginning '*Bel.* Be pleased awhile,' and the piece from 'That I was he' to '*Post.* Your servant, princes' (14½ verses). If these passages be not easily separable from the context, that fact affords no sound argument against their having been written by a late reviser of the play; but if on the contrary they be capable of being lifted out without any harm being done, if they be found to develop an idea only hinted at or not even hinted at in what precedes and not developed in what follows, a striking proof is afforded of the correctness of the attribution of these portions to a play-patcher of later date. Fulfilling this condition is the passage in III. 4, an insertion in a scene otherwise Shakspere's, the object of the reviser being to make clear the fact that Imogen was to don boy's clothes. In III. 6, Shakspere's part (the first speech) stands quite distinct from what follows, which probably however takes the place of Shaksperian work. In V. 4 we find Massinger putting a couple of verses of preface to a scene which he did not otherwise touch. The scene with which he meddled most was the closing one. Of the five portions for which he is responsible, the first is presumably a re-writing of what existed in another form; the second is an insertion, written because it was deemed necessary, though in point of fact Shakspere introduces later the recognition of Imogen which Massinger was anxious to emphasise, and by means of the latter's inserted passage Guiderius' subsequent remark, 'This is, sure, Fidele,' becomes somewhat ridiculous; the third is another insertion, easily detachable from the rest of the scene, and written evidently with the object of making the situation more credible and at the same time prolonging the excitement; the fourth, if we add the opening words of the succeeding speech,

O, what? am I
A mother to the birth of three? Ne'er mother
Rejoic'd deliverance more,

as perhaps we should do, is also easily separable from the work of Shakspere preceding and succeeding it, and is written to fulfil Massinger's ideas of the fitness of things—a point on which he was more particular than the majority of the dramatists of his time (including Shakspere); and the fifth is also an insertion designed to deal with Iachimo, whom Shakspere had forgotten to forgive.

An examination of the position and meaning of these passages affords striking confirmation of the separation of them from the remainder of the play as the work of a reviser. To find first of all that portions are detachable and then discern in them the work of an interpolator might reasonably arouse doubt as to the correctness of the judgment that would distinguish between the style of these portions of the play and the style of those from which they are detached; but in this case the determination of the authorship of the various parts of the play has been effected first (the basis being a consideration of style alone) and confirmation sought afterwards. That being so, it is not too much to claim that a case has been made out for a belief in a late non-Shaksperian revision of this play; for, if the view enunciated be wrong, it is certainly singular that it should be so completely borne out by the matter as well as the manner of the passages here pronounced to be insertions.

But the late revision by Massinger was not the only change to which the play was subjected. The vision in V. 4 has long been recognised as non-Shaksperian, and there are other portions of the play that might well be placed in the same category. Shaksperian are the opening scene, I. 3, I. 4, the bulk of I. 5, I. 6 (though this scene is perhaps not unadulterated), II. 2, II. 5, III. 2, all but the wofully weak close of III. 3, the bulk of III. 4, III. 5 (to Cloten's first exit), the opening speech of III. 6, IV. 3, IV. 4, V. 1, and parts of II. 3, IV. 2, V. 4, and V. 5. Is the rest (that is to say those portions included neither in this list nor among the passages credited to Massinger) Shakspere's or not? What of I. 2 and II. 1 with their very naked humour and their numerous asides? It may be suggested, not without hesitation, that these scenes, which are not like Shakspere's work, are not unlike Beaumont's. To the same source may be attributed that portion of III. 5 succeeding Cloten's first exit, IV. 1, V. 2, the whole of V. 3 with the exception of the closing lines by Massinger, and that part of V. 5 following Lucius' entry. The work of all three authors is to be found in II. 3 and IV. 2, though the apportionment of those two scenes among them need hardly be attempted here.

There remains the vision in V. 4. The speech prefacing it is Shakspere's, and so is

> 'Tis still a dream, or else such stuff as madmen
> Tongue, and brain not: either both, or nothing:
> Or senseless speaking, or a speaking such
> As sense cannot untie.

The vision itself and all that follows, with the exception of this short passage may be set down to the credit or discredit of Beaumont, though the first part of it (to Jupiter's descent 'in thunder and lightning') may perhaps be attributable to some weaker man. If Beaumont, it is certainly showing us that author at his very worst; but it may be hasty, scrambled work such as he would have been ashamed to put his name to, but was not ashamed to do to the order of his company for a work passing under the name of another. (If the vision be his, the portion of V. 5 following Massinger's final insertion and preceding the three speeches with which Shakspere closes the play must be his also: on style it might belong to either, preferably to Shakspere.) What seems probable is that the vision in its present form was an attempt by some other writer, perhaps Beaumont, to give spectacular effect to what may have been originally a very plain device, and to add for the benefit of the groundlings a mysterious intervention of Providence and one of those silly riddles in which the gods were supposed to delight. It is not wonderful that this nonsense should have been declared to be non-Shaksperian; but why has the fearfully bald passage closing III. 3 (beginning 'This Polydore') escaped recognition as the work of some other dramatist than Shakspere? It may perhaps be Beaumont's, though it is far below his usual level.

And what reason, other than reasons of style, is there to suppose that there are more than two hands observable in this play? Many arguments have been adduced for the belief that it has been revised at least once, and no one more than superficially acquainted with the work of Massinger can doubt that many passages which are at least possibly insertions, are from his pen. Whoever grants so much must grant also the presence of at least one other writer unless he be prepared to attribute to Massinger the greater part of the vision, which is assuredly not the work of Shakspere. Leaving out of question this very doubtful vision, what support is afforded to the belief that many of such parts of the play as show none of the characteristics of Massinger are also not the work of Shakspere? The difference in style between those portions of the play that are beyond all question Shakspere's and those parts that are here tentatively assigned to Beaumont may or may not appeal to others as it appeals to the writer of this article; and to decide the question it is well to consider the probabilities. First let it be noted that Massinger's work is not of the first importance and is purely of a revisory character. His aim has been to add a measure of probability to situations that were in their original form out of all reason, to fill in explanation and needful details where the work was too bare and too much was left to the imagination. For whatever faults there may be in the conduct of the story, Massinger is not to be blamed; and of all the Shaksperian plays, except perhaps the first tentative efforts of the great dramatist, this is the worst constructed. It has the appearance of being from first to last a piece of bad patchwork, the conduct of the story being thus on a par with the style. That being so, Shakspere's entire responsibility for the play prior to its being touched up by Massinger is unlikely.

The merits of *Cymbeline* lie in the beauty of isolated passages and the greatness of separate scenes. The play as a whole is loose and disjointed, badly put together, and lacking altogether the masterfulness with which Shakspere was wont to work out his dramatic ideas. The characterisation is equally erratic, showing Shakspere (if we accept the ordinary idea and throw all the blame on him) absolutely at his worst. Consider the representation of Cloten. In I. 1 he is 'a thing too bad for bad report,' and his showing in III. 5 and IV. 1 bears out this description, yet in III. 4 he is 'that harsh, noble, simple nothing.' Imogen's words cannot possibly apply to the Cloten of the play, any more than the description of him in IV. 2 as 'so fell' or in IV. 3 as 'so needful for this present' can apply to the vain-glorious buffoon of I. 2 and II. 1. Were one inclined to subordinate truth to a desire to prove the correctness of this theory of accounting for the inconsistency in the drawing of Cloten, one might so vary the conclusion come to on considerations of style as to make one author responsible for representing him as a buffoon and another for showing him as a formidable person; but in point of fact it is, if the apportionment of the play ventured on here be correct, Shakspere who speaks of him both as 'too bad for bad report' and as a 'harsh, noble, simple nothing.' Beaumont however is consistent, exhibiting him only as a gross fool and heartless brute, while Massinger, who describes him as 'so fell,' tries to account for the courage he shows by making him too brainless to have 'apprehension of roaring terrors.' In III. 1, with which Beaumont seems to have had nothing to do, he is represented as manly and worthy of respect, generous and not boastful, a very different person from the braggartly ass of I. 2 and II. 1.

How it came about that Shakspere's work was twice patched it is difficult to say. The 1600 quarto of *Much Ado* affords reason to believe that *Cymbeline* was in existence at that early date, and it may be that Beaumont's work was done for a revision in or about 1610, when Dr Forman saw the play performed. (The Massinger revision would of course be much later.) As against this, it is to be noted that the verse in the Shaksperian portions is obviously of later date than that occurring in plays dating 1600 or thereabouts, and therefore there is more reasonableness in supposing that the revision of 1610 was done partly by Shakspere himself and partly by Beaumont, not in conjunction, but separately, Shakspere perhaps beginning it, and ere the work was finished retiring to Stratford and leaving the completion of it to Beaumont. This theory may help to account for Shakspere's inconsistent characterisation of Cloten.

The result of an examination of *Cymbeline* is, so far as concerns

Massinger's connection, put forward confidently, but, so far as concerns Beaumont, it is propounded with diffidence. It is essentially a play for careful study, but study of the radical type, the only type which should, and the only type which does not, obtain in Shaksperian criticism.

There remains *Winter's Tale*, the only one of the supposed four latest plays of Shakspere of which it can be said that the authorship of no part of it has ever been questioned by any sane or reputable critic. But the risk of being shut out from the ranks of the sane or reputable must not prevent the investigator from giving it the closest of attention. As a result, it is found that most of the scenes are entirely Shakspere's, and that there is none that does not show his touch, though in the second scene of Act I., in Act II., and in that part of III. 2 between Paulina's re-entry and the closing speech (and perhaps also in III. 1) there is in places an approximation to the style of Fletcher that serves to show the correctness of Professor Thorndike's view as to the influence of that writer on the older and greater man.

That the other three plays, *Cymbeline, The Tempest,* and *Henry VIII*, are amongst Shakspere's latest is shown by a study of the parts of them that are clearly his; but these portions are very different to the non-Shaksperian passages, and seem to show that Shakspere's verse did not degenerate to the extent supposed by some critics. If the choice be between a belief in the degeneracy of the master and the sacrifice of certain portions of his later plays, it is a pleasure to find that careful examination leads to the adoption of the view that portions of them are non-Shaksperian rather than that Shakspere's powers fell away or that he deliberately adopted a manner of versification unnatural to him. That he retained his powers in full is clearly enough shown in *Winter's Tale* and in his portion of *The Tempest*, and that he wrote part of his later plays in his own style and part in imitation of younger men is not to be thought of. The influence of Fletcher, as shown in parts of *Winter's Tale*, is natural; but to suppose that Shakspere was the author of the portions of *Cymbeline* here ascribed to Massinger implies either a weakening of his powers or a deliberate descent to a prosaic manner unnatural to him.

E. H. C. OLIPHANT.

(*To be continued.*)

THE SATIRE IN HEINRICH WITTENWEILER'S RING.

It has been pointed out by Bleisch (*Zum Ring Heinrich Wittenweilers*, Halle, 1891, p. 21) that the author of the poem *Der Ring* was a man of some literary culture. Ample proof of this is afforded by the numerous allusions throughout the poem, also by the manner in which he successfully parodies several forms of poetry which were popular in his time. The *Tanzlied* and the *Tagelied*, the *Heldenlied* and the religious allegory are each parodied in their turn. But there is an element of satire in *Der Ring* which has hitherto been overlooked, in spite of the large amount of space allotted to it in the poem. No less than 633 lines are devoted to a description of the wedding feast of Bertschi and Mätzli, and this description is a skilful, if somewhat coarse satire on one of the most popular forms of didactic literature of that day, namely, the sets of rules for conduct familiar to us under the name of *hofzucht* and *tischzucht*.

Fol. 30ᶜ l. 10[1] we read:

> Ze stett da sprach fro Richteinschand:
> 'Ich merch, ir seicz zu hof bekant,
> Darumb ich euwer wirdi pitt,
> Lert in hofzucht auch damit.'

To which Lastersak replies:

> l. 26. 'Also mag ich Bertschin sagin,
> Wil er sich nach züchten haben,
> Daz mug er lernen, sam man spricht,
> Bey seyner hochzeit, ob sey geschicht.'

Shortly after this follows the description of the wedding feast at which Bertschi was to learn good manners. Every possible rule of conduct is broken by the wedding guests and each breach of etiquette is described with great minuteness by the author.

There can be no doubt as to which of the many codes of rules in Latin and in German still extant Heinrich Wittenweiler had before him when he wrote *Der Ring*. Adolph Hauffen, in his work *Caspar Scheidt, der Lehrer Fischarts*[1], speaking of the Latin poems *Facetus* and *Phagifacetus*, says: 'Diese lateinischen Sittenbüchlein gehen den früher dargestellten deutschen Anstandsregeln zeitlich und dem Grade der Entwickelung nach weit voraus, aber sie haben keinerlei Einfluss auf diesen Zweig der deutschen Lehrdichtung, bevor sie am Ausgang des xv. Jahrhunderts von einem Manne (Brant) in die deutsche Literatur eingeführt wurden' etc. When treating of the *tischzuchten* in various languages and their relations to each other at some future date, I hope to disprove more fully the truth of this statement; for the present, suffice it to say that Wittenweiler's *Ring*, which, under certain aspects, belongs to this branch of literature, bears indisputable traces of having been influenced by both of them. Every breach of good manners adduced by the author of the *Ring* is the transgression of a rule contained in one or other of these Latin poems. The guests omit to wash their hands and clean their nails; they all put their hands together into the dish, they gnaw the bones, they place their elbows on the table—in fact they do everything which the 'Grobianus' of a century later was instructed to do. But in addition to the breach of the more ordinary rules which may be found in other *tischzuchten* also, several points are taken up to which special attention is paid in *Facetus* and *Phagifacetus*, but little or none in the other treatises on the subject. In *Facetus*, for example, the rules for drinking are characteristic and differ considerably from those given by the other poems, both Latin, German and French. But these rules are all familiar to the author of the *Ring*.

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[1] Ed. *Bibl. des Literar. Vereins zu Stuttgart*, XXIII, 1850.

Facetus[2]: Si te majori peluis famuletur aquosa
Ad manicis eius tua sit manus officiosa...
Qua terges non veste manus siccato madentes
Nec mappa tergas dentes: oculos que fluentes, etc.;

cf. *Der Ring*, 34^{d} 8 f.:

Das (wasser) goss der diener ym vil eben
Von höhend auf die ermel sein
Nicht ins bek enmit hineyn...
Farindkuo der hiet kain tuoch
Ze trüknen, darumb er die pruoch
Zuo seiner zwähel do gewan u.s.w.

Again, *Facetus*:

Quando ciphum capies: averso non bibe dorso;

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[1] *Quellen und Forschungen*, Heft 66, 1889.
[2] Ed. *Octo Auctores*, etc. Lugduni, 1519, etc.

cf. *Der Ring*, 37^a 39 f.:

Rüfli zu derselben stund
Saczt den eymer an den mund
Und chert sich gen der wand von in.

Facetus:

Pocula si sumas: intingas labra modeste;
Qui prope fert nasum non potum sumit honeste;

cf. *Der Ring*, 35^b 3 f.:

Sey wolt den wirt nit schenden
Und fasst den chruog peynn henden,
Mund und nass stiess sey dar in
Also wol smakt ir der wein.

The comparison with *Phagifacetus* also offers striking points of similarity. Under the headings *De lapsu ciborum* and *De ovis comedendis*, the author, Reinerus[1], had described the course of conduct to be pursued should any piece of food be allowed to fall, and the proper manner of eating a lightly-boiled egg, which should on no account be swallowed whole. These points are developed at great length and with evident pleasure by Wittenweiler.

Phagifacetus: 'De lapsu ciborum':

Est quando danda proficiscitur esca palato
Et cadit intrandos illudens oris hiatus...
Nec si collapsum, quamvis dilexeris escam,
Restituas disco nec avari dentibus oris
Procedens tribuas ne culpa priore paretur
Posterior, fiatque pudor de simplice duplex.

Cf. *Der Ring*, 36, 13 f.:

Wan dem esser ichcz empfiel
Auf die erden ab dem tisch
Es wär gekauwen oder frisch
Das scholt man wider aufheben
Und es hin für seu alleu legen,
Es wär dann, daz es gtroffen wär
Auf das gwand ym an gevär.
Daz mocht er behalten, ane zol
Gevielin ym die spängli wol.

Phagifacetus: 'De ovis comedendis':

Sorbile si dabitur, galline filius, ovum
Non vesceris eo, naves quo more Caribdis
Imbibit, ut, quando sumas, respondeat echo
Detque gula strepitum querulo roboante tumulta;

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[1] There is some uncertainty as to the identity of Reinerus, whose name is given by the initial letters of the opening lines of the poem (*Reinerus me fecit*). Cf. *Hist. Lit. de France*, tom. VIII, p. 88, and Reineri *Phagifacetum*, etc., recensuit Hugo Lemcke, 1880, preface.

cf. *Ring*, 37^b 15 f.:

> Damit die äyger warent bräyt
> Und für die gesellen all gelayt....
> Des nam de Chriembolt eben war
> Und fasst daȝ äy so gancȝ und gar
> Er warff es yeso in den mund
> Und schlickt es eyn in einer stund.
> Des wär er gstorben an der ȝeit
> Do was ym der schlund so weit
> Daȝ das äy ym durch den kragen
> Gänczlich fuor bis in den magen.

In addition to these corresponding passages, both *Phagifacetus* and *Der Ring* have a long and enthusiastic encomium on wine and its properties, in the former under the heading *De potu et vino*, in the latter beginning with the line ‘Wie schol aver sein das gtranch?’ and finally, in connection with drinking, in both poems the guests are instructed to make supplication for ‘Sant Johans segen.’ Such a passage in praise of wine as we get in *Phagifacetus* presents a striking contrast to the cautions and limitations imposed on the drinker by the ordinary *tischzucht*. Indeed, in this passage, as in others in the poem, a decided tendency to parody some of the customary rules may be detected, and it was only a step from the mild form of parody in the Latin poem to the sharper satire of Heinrich Wittenweiler’s *Ring*.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON CHARLES SEALSFIELD.

DURING a recent investigation of certain aspects of Sealsfield's life I have been forced to the conclusion that, if a wholly reliable biography of that author is to be written, nearly all the accepted data will have to be subjected to a thorough re-examination. The following notes are a contribution to the bibliography of certain of Sealsfield's writings.

THE UNITED STATES.

It is generally agreed that the first published work of Sealsfield, *Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika*, etc., Stuttgart, Cotta, 1827, was worked over by the author into two English books, the one entitled *The Americans as they are*, etc., London, Hurst, Chance and Co., 1828; the other, *The United States of North America, as they are in their political, religious and social bearings*, London, John Murray, 1828. The first-named, according to A. B. Faust, *Charles Sealsfield, der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, Weimar, 1896, p. 59, consists of those portions of Vol. II of the German original which were rejected by John Murray; so that by far the greatest part of Vol. II must have been cut out by Murray, since *The Americans* runs to 218 pages. *The Americans* is one of the least accessible of Sealsfield's works. As for *The United States*, no copy of it is known to exist in any library, not even in the British Museum or the Bodleian. Its entire disappearance is in a way explained by the report of Mr C. G. Lawrence, who, upon my request to Mr Murray of Albemarle Street, was kindly commissioned by him to look up the records. I learn from that gentleman that no more than 750 copies of *The United States* were printed (in July, 1827), and of these, 502 were 'wasted' (in September, 1835). Mr Lawrence writes further: 'the work was sold and published by Simpkin, Marshall and Co. In fact, John Murray seems to have had little to do with it.' (From Sealsfield's letters one would gain a different impression.)

Through the kind offices of Mr A. Ravizé, I have at last obtained a well-preserved copy of the missing book which turns out to be of singular importance in respect of a number of critical questions. My immediate object, however, is to establish the true title of the work and fix its relation to *Die Vereinigten Staaten* on the one hand and to *The Americans* on the other. The title reads: The | United States | of North America | As they are[1]. London: | Published by W. Simpkin and R. Marshall | Stationers' Hall Court | MDCCCXXVIII. The volume is octavo and has 242 pages. The preface (vi pages) corresponds almost word for word to that of *The Americans*. It is dated London, June, 1827, while the preface to *The Americans* dates, or is, at least, alleged to date from March, 1828. The latter preface is evidently a doctored edition of the former. Sealsfield may have had nothing whatever to do with it. One might note the discrepancy of several years in dating the promulgation of the 'Monroe doctrine,' and the omission (in *The Americans*) of the author's apology for the 'many inaccuracies of his style.' To consider now the relation of *The United States* to the German original: it is, in fact, a mere free translation, or at most, in some parts, a *rifacimento* of the *first* volume of *Die Vereinigten Staaten*. Contrary to the generally accepted view, not one line of the second volume went to make up Murray's publication. The principal differences, apart from matters of phrasing, are these: 1. Many of the long footnotes of the German edition are omitted, a few being taken up into the text. 2. The last chapter of *The United States* contains for the most part new matter, *viz.* a capital characterisation of America and its people. 3. A few errors in facts and names are corrected, *e.g.*, 'Kongress von Panama' (*Die Vereinigten Staaten*, chap. 4), 'Congress of Mexico' (*The United States*, chap. 5). 4. Out of deference to English opinion, or from a sense of loyalty to the Germans, certain passages dealing with German and English character and manners are omitted, so from chapters 2 and 9. 5. The end of chapter 15 in *Die Vereinigten Staaten* is omitted, and for that of chapter 11 a different one is substituted. 6. The introductory chapter of *The United States*, which contains a review of the political, physical, and moral state of the Union of North America, concludes with a political observation added palpably *ad captandam benevolentiam*, for the special gratification of the British reader. Finally, the fifteen chapters of *Die Vereinigten Staaten* make eighteen in the English version, owing to the addition of a final chapter as already mentioned, and the division of chapter 2 of the German work into 2 and 3 of the English, and of chapter 13 into 14 and 15.

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[1] The contract between Charles Sealsfield and John Murray (see Faust, *l.c.*, p. 184) contemplated a fuller title, and by this bibliographers have hitherto described the book in question. It is, however, only the half-title that runs: The United States of North America as they are in their political, religious and social bearings.

In spite of the date 1828 on the title-page, the book was issued late in 1827, as appears both from the records of the publisher and the postscript to Sealsfield's letter to Cotta dated June 4, 1827 (Faust, *l.c.*, p. 203). It would seem that John Murray 'sublet' the contract for *The United States* to Simpkin and Marshall.

TOKEAH, OR THE WHITE ROSE.

The difficulty of finding Sealsfield's books through the usual channels was already realised in 1877 by that indefatigable compiler, Konstantin Wurzbach. To-day there is not a library anywhere, which is in possession of a complete set of Sealsfield's writings. One of the very rarest of his works is *Tokeah*. Joseph Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana*, Vol. XV, mentions it as having been published at Philadelphia in 1829. The same year is given in the copyright notice on the reverse title-page of the second American edition. Yet Sealsfield scholars and bibliographers have invariably named 1828 as the year of publication. Failing, evidently, of access to a copy either of the first or of the second edition, they derived warrant for their date from the author's statement in the Introduction to *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*, Vol. I, p. xiii (cf. the 12mo edition): 'Einzig der Legitime und der Republikaner wurde zuerst in den Vereinigten Staaten zu Philadelphia bei Carey und Lea im Jahr 1828 in zwei Bänden unter dem Titel "Tokeah or The White Rose" herausgegeben, aber bloss der erste Teil in der deutschen bei Orell und Füssli in Zürich 1833 erschienenen Auflage unverändert gelassen, der zweite Teil hingegen gänzlich umgearbeitet.' Cf. also Sealsfield's letter to Brockhaus (Hamburger, *Sealsfield-Postl*, Vienna, 1879, p. 59). *Tokeah* is not to be found in the lists and reviews for 1828; also with the biographical data, albeit these are largely conjectural, 1829 would comport much better. I was therefore not surprised to find the first novel of Sealsfield mentioned among the 'new publications' of 1829 in the *North American Review*, Vol. XXVIII (1829), p. 545: 'Novels and Tales. Tokeah or The White Rose, an American novel, Philadelphia, Carey, Lea and Carey, 2 vols., 12mo.' A good copy of this extremely rare book was recently acquired for the private library of Professor August Sauer. It is, for aught I know, the sole copy that can be located. Its title reads: Tokeah; | or, | The White Rose. | (Follows a motto from Goethe.) | In two volumes | Philadelphia: | Carey, Lea and Carey,—Chestnut Street. | Sold in New York By G. & C. Carvill, —in Boston By Munroe & Francis. 1829. Volume I contains 212 pages, Volume II 208. The copyright was effected on January 14, 1829. The designation of *Tokeah* as an 'Indian' or 'American' novel is a bit of bibliographical supererogation, so far as the *editio princeps* is concerned. The second edition which is merely a popular reprint in cheap pamphlet form, but now equally rare, is entitled: Tokeah | or | The White Rose | An Indian Tale. | (The Motto from Goethe.) By | C. Sealsfield. Second Edition. | Philadelphia | Lea and Blanchard | 1845. I have likewise found a hitherto unregistered English edition in three well printed volumes: The | Indian Chief; | or, | Tokeah and The White Rose ...A Tale of the Indians and the Whites. | (The Motto from Goethe.) | Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Carey | London: | A. K. Newman and Co. (The date has been erased. I have not yet been able to fix it.)

It would be well if these full descriptions should lead to the recovery of further copies of *Tokeah*: for the novel is indispensable to the comparative study of the American and European 'Indian story.' That it is still playing an influential part, especially in juvenile fiction, is proved by a number of quite recent reprints and 'Bearbeitungen,' even though most of them are based on the German version, *Der Legitime und die Republikaner*. For example, in English: *Tokeah, or The White Rose*, by Charles Sealsfield. London, G. Newnes, 1897. 2 vols. 8vo.: being Nos. 69—70 of *The Penny Library of Famous Books*. This edition is unfortunately out of print, and extremely difficult to obtain; there is a copy in the Bodleian, but none in the British Museum. The following titles, from my own collection, speak for the undiminished vitality of the book in Germany: 1. *Tokeah*. Für die reifere Jugend bearbeitet von H. Ludwig. Stuttgart, Thienemann. 4 vols. (No date.) 2. *Tokeah oder die weisse Rose*. Für die Jugend bearbeitet von P. Moritz. Stuttgart, Thienemann. 4 vols. (No date.) 3. *Tokeah*, etc., in *Die besten Romane der Weltliteratur* (Vols. X—XII). Wien, Leipzig, K. Prochaska, Teschen in Schlesien. (No date: 1896.) 4. *Tokeah*, etc., Frei für die Jugend bearbeitet von Gustav Höcker. Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, Union Deutsche Verlagsanstalt. (No date.) 5. *Tokeah*, etc., Neu herausgegeben von Paul Heichen, in Charles Sealsfield's *Wild-West-Romane*. Gross-Lichterfelde, v. Pipersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. (No date: 1900.) 6. *Tokeah*, etc., in *Klassische Romane der Weltliteratur. Ausgewählte Sammlung Prochaska*. 2 vols. Wien, Leipzig, Teschen, K. Prochaska. (No date: 1904.)

MORTON, ODER DIE GROSSE TOUR.

Another extremely difficult book to find is the first edition of *Morton*. Faust, in his Johns Hopkins dissertation, gives the following title: '1835. Morton, oder die grosse Tour, vom Verfasser des Legitimen. Zürich, Orell, etc.' In Faust's *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, p. 105, the book is again called *Morton, oder die grosse Tour*. But in the subject-catalogues one searches in vain for 'Morton,' since, as a matter of fact, the name of the principal character did not form part of the title. Not many copies of the 1835 edition seem to be extant. One of these was located for me by the Berlin 'Auskunftsbureau' in the Royal Public Library at Dresden, whence Professor A. R. Hohlfeld (of Wisconsin) kindly sends me a transcription of the title: Lebensbilder | aus | beiden Hemisphären. | Vom Verfasser | des Legitimen, der Transatlantischen Reiseskizzen, | des Virey, etc. | Erster Theil Zürich | bei Orell, Füssli und Comp. | 1835. (Vol. I, 183 pp., Vol. II, 206 pp.) In both volumes the sub-title, printed on a special page, reads merely: 'Die grosse Tour[1].'

By his rather captious experimenting in the naming of his books Sealsfield managed at first to break up the continuity between *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen* (*i.e. George Howard's, Esq. Brautfahrt*) and its sequel, *Ralph Doughby's, Esq. Brautfahrt*, when he conjoined the latter story with *Die grosse Tour* as *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären*. To be sure, he did not intend to deny entirely the organic connection between *Howard* and *Doughby*, for in the *editio princeps*, *Doughby* is further described *oder der Transatlantischen Reiseskizzen dritter Theil*. But the serial title *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären, erster Theil* does not make a duly clear allowance for *Howard* as an integral part of the series. Apparently Sealsfield had conceived the ambitious design of a broad panorama of life on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean to be unrolled in a number of novels. Their collective name was to be *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären*, and so far as they dealt with American life solely, they were to be grouped together under the secondary collective title *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*. But, as shown above, the diacritical value of the threefold title was lost in the confusion of the arrangement of 1835. The author abandoned the scheme in its more comprehensive form, and in the second edition, after separating out *Morton, oder die grosse Tour* as an independent novel, dropped the general superscription *Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären*, and combined, quite properly, *Howard* with the succeeding *Reiseskizzen* in a set of six volumes under the new generic title *Lebensbilder aus der westlichen Hemisphäre.*

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[1] Since writing this note, I have obtained possession of a copy of the edition here accurately described.

CHRISTOPHORUS BÄRENHÄUTER.

From Faust's list of Charles Sealsfield's works one gathers the false impression that the almost unknown story *Christophorus Bärenhäuter* and the well known *George Howard's, Esq. Brautfahrt* passed through two editions within two years. I am in a position to correct the dates and titles directly from the books themselves which Professor Faust has generously contributed to my loan-collection of Sealsfieldiana. The emendation would presumably have been made by Professor Faust himself in his *Der Dichter beider Hemisphären*, but for the regrettable omission of a bibliography from that monograph.

The two last items on page 52 of Faust's dissertation read:

'1833. Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter, vom Verfasser des Legitimen. Zürich, 1833–37. 6 vols. Orell, Füssli u. Cie.

1834. George Howard's Brautfahrt und Christophorus Bärenhäuter. Bd. 1 und 2, Lebensbilder.'

In accordance with the facts these items should be entered as follows:

1834. Transatlantische Reiseskizzen und Christophorus Bärenhäuter. Vom Verfasser des Legitimen und der Republikaner. Zürich, bei Orell, Füssli und Comp. 2 vols. (*Transatlantische Reiseskizzen* is identical with the first edition of *George Howard.* A second edition of *George Howard* did not come out till 1843; *Christophorus Bärenhäuter* was never republished in book form.)

1835 f. Lebensbilder aus beiden Hemisphären. (The component parts of the series, which, as is to be seen from the preceding note on *Morton*, contains also the continuations of *Transatlantische Reiseskizzen*, should be described volume for volume.)

OTTO HELLER.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

Notes on the 'Interlude of Wealth and Health[1].'

Line 11. 'take ye care.' Read 'take ye keepe' to rime with 'a sleepe.' This can scarcely be a misprint, but suggests a deliberate modernising of an expression already becoming obsolete.

Ll. 37—39.

> For in this realme welth should be
> Yeth no displeasure I pray you hartely
> But in the way of communicacion,
>   And for pastyme

Punctuate and read as follows:

> For in this realme welth should be—
> Beth not displeased, I pray you hartely;
> But in the way of Communicacion
>   And for pastyme.

If this emendation is correct, the imperative 'Beth' indicates an early date of composition, *i.e.* about the fourteenth or fifteenth century. The *N. E. D.* assigns this form only to these centuries.

L. 80. 'Thai' = though. If this is not a misprint it must go back to M. E. (mainly southern) 'theih,' 'thai,' 'þeȝ,' *etc.* < O. E. 'þēah.' Are any late examples of this form forthcoming? I can find none later than the fourteenth century. Davy, Chaucer and Gower have 'thogh,' 'though' only; the London Records from 1430—1500, have 'thogh,' 'though,' 'thow,' 'thof'; also 'thaugh' (? < Angl. 'þæh'). Cf. Lekebusch, *Die Londoner Urkundensprache,* pp. 71—72.

The leading English dialects according to Dr Wright's Index show no form which presupposes M. E. 'theih,' *etc.* Accordingly if 'thai' be the true reading, it argues an early and probably a southern origin for this interlude.

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[1] Malone Society Reprints, 1907.

Ll. 89—90. 'bene' riming with 'at ene.' The archaic 'bene' = 'be' is probably without much importance, but 'at ene' (= 'at once') seems distinctly old. Cf. Stratmann-Bradley, *s.v.* 'ǣne.' The phrase is not exampled in the *N. E. D.* 'Bene' riming with 'ene,' is a rhyme in M. E. ẹ : ę, which may or may not be significant. M. E. ẹ (close) had become ī by the beginning of, or very early in, the sixteenth century.

L. 107. 'reche' (riming with 'wretch'): M. E. 'rechen,' 'rekken.' The former is normal. The *N. E. D.* gives 'rech,' 'retch,' for the fifteenth but not for the sixteenth century. 'Rech' appears to be the commoner fifteenth century form.

Ll. 115, 126. 'goodes,' 'wayes.' The plural inflexion is syllabic. In 'wayes,' the -es is a sort of rime to 'peace' and 'richesse.'

L. 137. 'Getteth,' a southern plural: so also l. 650, 'Handes doth.'

L. 245. 'both two' (O. E. 'bā twā,' *etc.*). The latest example of this use in the *N. E. D.* is 1523, Lord Berners.

Ll. 341—343. 'were: nere: mar.' 'Nere' is comparative (M. E. 'nerre'). For 'mar' read 'mer.' Similarly in 939, 'marre' rimes with 'were.' In 399 it rimes with 'war,' but 'war' is from M. E. 'werre.' The latest example of the verb 'mar' (M. E. 'merren,' 'marren'), with a, not e, given in the *N. E. D.* is dated 1510, but if we are to judge from the examples, a-forms become more common from the fourteenth century onwards. The rhymes seem to show that 'mer' or 'merre' was the original form in *Wealth and Health* and that 'mar' and 'marre' are modernised forms. Compare also the rime 'farre' ('far') with 'were' (verb) in 942. The *N. E. D.* records no form of 'far' with e later than the fourteenth century.

Ll. 421, 622, 746. Similar conclusions are suggested by the form 'inquire' which is found in the rime three times, and on each occasion with an e word: (1) 'inquire' riming with 'degrot here,' *i.e.* 'the great Lord' (Hance's jargon); (2) 'inquire' riming with 'heare' (adv.); (3) 'inquire' riming with 'apeare.' Obviously the original reading was 'inquere' or 'enquere.' The *N. E. D.* records forms with i from the fifteenth century onwards. The only comparatively late examples of e-forms in the *N. E. D.* are from Spenser where we may have to do with a conscious archaism, and Butler, where the form is wanted for the sake of a grotesque rime.

L. 649. I note the word 'mell' which seems to represent O. E. 'meðlan,' 'to speak' rather than O. F. 'mesler,' *etc.* 'to meddle.' The latest example of 'mell' < 'meðlan' in the *N. E. D.* is dated c. 1460.

The points noticed suggest, I think, if they fall far short of proving, that the *Interlude of Wealth and Health* was written considerably earlier than the date of the extant copy. The latter date is uncertain. The interlude was entered to John Waley in the Stationers' Register, as Mr W. W. Greg says, 'early in the craft year which began on 19 July, 1557.' But Mr Greg seriously doubts whether the extant copy belongs to the edition which Waley presumably printed. If it does, the printing was delayed until after the accession of Elizabeth, *i.e.* for over a year. See line 959 'Jesu preserue quene Elizabeth.' It seems probable, however, that when Waley entered *Wealth and Health* in the Register it was not by any means a new piece. At the same time there was entered to the same printer the interlude of *Youth* which is assigned, on various grounds including linguistic, by the latest editors, Prof. Bang and Mr McKerrow, to the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century (Bang's *Materialien*, XII, XIV). *Wealth and Health* probably belongs to the same time; but whereas the author of *Youth* was, as Prof. Bang thinks, a northern man, the writer of *Wealth and Health* seems to have been a native of the southern counties.

There is, however, in the interludes a clue which, if followed up, might lead to more certain results. I allude to the episode of the drunken Fleming, Hance. In the Morality Remedy restores Health, Wealth and Liberty to the realm, not only by laying Ill-will and Shrewd Wit by the heels, but by packing the undesirable alien Hance out of the kingdom. Hance seems to stand for aliens generally, as also for foreign countries that had impoverished England in any way. He is a bombardier, a musketeer, a shoemaker and, I think, a brewer (778). He is also the agent in conveying English wealth to Flanders (424). If the reference in the last passage is to unfavourable commercial relations, the time of the interlude is perhaps earlier than 1506, in which year was concluded a commercial treaty so unfavourable to Flanders that the Flemings termed it *Intercursus Malus*. As for the employment of Flemish mercenaries as artillerymen and musketeers, the practice seems to have been instituted by the king-maker and Edward III. When this interlude was written, the employment of foreign artillerymen seems to have been a grievance (l. 415):

> wyl ye not see
> We haue English gunners ynow, there is no rome empty.

In line 758 we have something which looks like a definite allusion. Hance says he has been thirteen years in England ('ic heb hore bin, this darten yeore')—apparently as a mercenary—for he goes on: 'ic can skote de coluerin.' Unfortunately I am unable to follow up these various clues, and can merely suggest that the history of the Flemings in England in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, if examined with reference to hints supplied in *Wealth and Health*, might yield results more or less conclusive for the dating of the interlude.

MARK HUNTER.

'IRISDISION,' IN THE INTERLUDE OF 'JOHAN THE EUANGELYST.'

In the *Modern Language Review* for July, 1907 (p. 350), Dr Bradley ingeniously conjectures that 'Irisdision' is a misprint due to the compositor's misreading the MS. abbreviation 'Joh evan.' This is scarcely probable, inasmuch as 'S. Johan the Euangelyste' does not enter till l. 230, where he describes himself. 'Irisdision' had left the stage at l. 190, with the words:

> Nowe farewell syr and haue good daye
> For I must goo another waye.

Besides, 'Irisdision' is evidently the character of a mystic, as may be seen by the first speech (which obviously belongs to 'Irisdision,' though headed 'Saynt Johan the Euangelyst'). This may be illustrated from the works of Richard Rolle of Hampole (ed. C. Horstman).

> L. 8. God tendeth ryght more the prayer with the hert of vs
> Than the prayer of the mouth.

Cf. R. R., II, p. xi: 'Where is love? "in the heart and in the will of man, not in his hand or in his mouth."'

> L. 13. As it rauysshet[h] the soule in to a blessed deserte.

Cf. R. R., II, p. viii: 'His place is the solitude, the desert...Christ is not found in the multitude but in the desert: "In solitudine loquitur ad cor."'

> L. 14. It feleth no erthly thyng....

Cf. R. R., II, p. viii: 'The mind must be abstracted from visible things.'

> L. 15. Thus fared Magdaleyne, *etc.*

Cf. R. R., II, p. ix: 'Maria (the contemplative) optimam partem elegit.'

> L. 17. Nor the aungell at the sepulcre, loue so her constrayned.

Cf. R. R., I, p. 215: 'All þis reklessnes of all owtward thynges & also of þe angell wordes was caused of þe gret loue & desyre þat scho had to hir mayster & hir lord Ihesu.'

> Ll. 20—21. Who so wyll labour in this, must se his habytacyon
> Be solytary....

Cf. R. R., II, p. viii: 'The true contemplative must be solitary, not conjoint (non conjunctus, in congregatione et tumultu positus) or "communis";—"solus suscipiet quod conjunctus carebit."'

> L. 21. ...in soule of great quyetnesse.

Cf. R. R., II, p. viii: 'haec tria [*i.e.* fervor, canor, dulcor] ego expertus sum *in mente* non posse diu persistere *sine magna quiete*.'

> L. 22. Therfore euer to the churche I do me dresse.

Cf. R. R., II, p. viii: 'Pax est in cella: nil exterius nisi bella.' *Ib.*, I, p. 441: 'sedebam quippe in vna capella'; 'dum enim in eadem capella sederem.'

What then is the explanation of the word 'Irisdision'? I can only offer two suggestions, with neither of which I am altogether satisfied. Each involves the change of only one letter, and both depend upon passages in the Vulgate version of the book of *Revelation*. It may be remarked that 'Irisdision's' first speech begins and ends with a quotation from the Vulgate (*Ps.* XXXVIII, 9, and *Ps.* LXXXIV, 4), and that allusions to the book of *Revelation* are frequent in his language (but not in that of 'S. Johan the Euangelyste').

1. The first passage from which I suggest the name may have been derived is *Rev.* X, 1, which reads in the Vulgate, 'Et vidi alium Angelum fortem descendentem *de cœlo* amictum nube, et *iris* in capite ejus.' Is it possible that 'Irisdision' is a corruption of *Iris de Sion*, the angel being identified with the *iris* and *de Sion* being substituted for *de cœlo*? It may be noticed that 'Syone' occurs in l. 82 as a synonym of heaven, and that the phrase *de Sion* is found in the Vulgate (*e.g. Ps.* XIX, 2, 'et de Sion tueatur te'). In that case the angel would represent the mystic, as in R. R., II, p. ix, where he is said to be 'velut *Seraphin* succensus,' and again, 'haec est perfectissima vita, sanctissima, et *angelis simillima*.'

2. The other passage from *Revelation* which suggests an alternative explanation is the beginning of ch. IV, vv. 1—3, especially the words 'ecce *ostium apertum* in cœlo...et *iris* erat in circuitu sedis, similis *visioni* smaragdinæ.' Is 'Irisdision' a corruption of *Iris uisio*? Cf. R. R., I, p. 441, 'usque ad *apercionem ostii celestis* vt reuelata facie oculus cordis *superos contemplaretur*'; and 'manente siquidem *aperto*

ostio.’ Again (p. 436), we have ‘O beata visio dei & gaudiorum celi!’ We are told (I, p. 417) that ‘contemplacion is a sight, & þai see ın til heuen with þaire gasteli iee’; and (II, p. 75), ‘with his ghoostly eyen than may he se in to the blysse of heuen.’

It is difficult also to accept Dr Bradley’s suggestion that ‘Actio,’ another character in the interlude, is the same as ‘Idelnesse’ and a corruption of ‘Accid’ an abbreviation of ‘Accidia.’ At l. 541, ‘Idelnesse’ and ‘Yuell Counsayle’ go out together and ‘Actio’ enters, having ‘ben longe awaye.’ (In l. 630, ‘Ambo’ is a misprint for ‘Actio.’) I take ‘Actio’ to be the representative of the active as opposed to the contemplative life (*βίος πρακτικός* and *θεωρητικός*). Cf. the description of the active life (R. R., I, p. 268), ‘actyf lyf alon longeþ to worldly men & wymmen whuch are lewed, fleschly, & boistous in knowyng of gostly occupacion, ffor þei fele no sauour ne deuocion be feruour of loue as oþur men don, þei can no skile of hit, and ȝit neuerþeles þei han drede of god & of þe peynes of helle & þerfore þei fle synne, and þei haue also desyre for to plese god & for to come to heuene.’ How far the former part of this description applies to ‘Actio’ may readily be seen by reading the interlude. The latter part accounts for the rather sudden conversion of ‘Eugenio’ and ‘Actio’ under the preaching of John the Evangelist.

W. H. WILLIAMS.

SHAKESPEARE, ‘TROILUS AND CRESSIDA,’ III, iii, 161—3.

Or like a gallant horse falne in first ranke,
Lie there for pavement to the abject, neere
O’errun and trampled on.

‘Neere’ is the reading of the First and Second Folios. These lines are not in the Quarto. The correction ‘reare,’ which is generally accepted, was introduced by Hanmer. In the first place, ‘the abject rear’ must be understood as ‘the rabble in the rear,’ for it is plain that the whole rear cannot be pronounced ‘abject,’ and in the second place, it is not clear why the idea of a horse should have occurred to the speaker in the preceding line, rather than that of a soldier. Just as the abject soldiers who lay in the rear might have been opposed to the gallant warrior in the front rank, so the gallant steed ought to have been set over against the abject horse. Now ‘neere,’ read phonetically —and those used to the spelling of the time will not raise an objection, unless it be founded on the condemnation by Holofernes in *Love’s*

Labour's Lost, V, i, 25, of those 'rackers of orthography' who abbreviate 'neigh' into 'ne'—would answer the purpose. The 'gallant horse' is opposed to the 'abject neigher,' the brute that can do no better than neigh.

J. DEROCQUIGNY.

SHAKESPEARE, 'ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA,' III, xiii, 158—167.

Ant. Cold-hearted toward me?
Cleo. Ah, dear, if I be so,
From my cold heart let heaven engender hail,
And poison it in the source; and the first stone
Drop in my neck: as it determines, so
Dissolve my life! The next Caesarion smite!
Till by degrees the memory of my womb,
Together with my brave Egyptians all,
By the discandying of this pelleted storm,
Lie graveless, till the flies and gnats of Nile
Have buried them for prey.
(*Globe Edition.*)

The commentators and editors have altered the punctuation of the First Folio, which is nearly correct, and made nonsense of the passage, and have then written notes and explanations endeavouring to make sense of it. Furness in his Variorum Edition of this play gives the following notes:

'next] In deciding the question of Cleopatra's sincerity or insincerity in this scene, has full weight been given to the pathetic tenderness of this word?—Ed.

the next Caesarian] *Steevens*: Caesarion was Cleopatra's son by Julius Caesar. *Irving Edition*: Cleopatra appears to apply the name to Antony's offspring as an indirect compliment; as if she had said, this second Caesar's son. [Or, rather, is it not a wilful and artful oblivion that she had ever had any children of whom Antony was not the father?—Ed.]'

The First Folio gives:

Ant. Coldhearted toward me?
Cleo. Ah (Deere) if I be so,
From my cold heart let Heauen ingender haile,
And poyson it in the sourse, and the first stone
Drop in my neck: as it determines so
Dissolue my life, the next Caesarian smile,
Till by degrees the memory of my wombe, *etc.*

'Caesarion smite' for 'Caesarian smile' is Hanmer's obviously correct emendation. A comma after 'determines,' a semicolon after 'life,' and a comma after 'next' would make the meaning perfectly apparent: 'Let the first hailstone drop in my neck, and as it falls, so end my life; let the next hailstone smite Caesarion, my eldest son; let the following hailstones slay my other children one by one; then my brave Egyptians, till by the melting of this storm of hailstones all lie dead, unburied, prey to the flies and gnats of Nile.'

A. JOANNA PARTRIDGE.

'VICTORIA,' 'EXCHANGE WARE' AND 'WORKE FOR CUTLERS.'

See pages 141 and 177 of the present volume of this *Review*. Dr Sidney Lee points out that Larivey's comedy *Le Fidelle* is another version of Pasqualigo's *Il Fidele*.

The suggestion made on page 152, that these 'shews' were performed in connexion with some of the longer pieces played before King James on his first visit to Cambridge in 1615 derives support from Chamberlain's letter to Sir D. Carleton of March 16, $161\frac{4}{5}$, quoted in Hawkins' edition of *Ignoramus* (1787), p. xxviii, and elsewhere. Chamberlain writes: 'the first night's entertainment [March 7] was a comedie made and acted by St John's men [Cecill's *Æmilia*]...larded with pretty shewes at the beginning and end.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

'TO APPOINT.'

Milton, *Samson Agonistes*, 373.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1907 (p. 74), Professor G. C. Moore Smith suggests that the meaning of 'appoint' in this passage is 'prescribe or determine the course of,' 'pin down to a fixed course'; I believe, however, that the *N. E. D.* explanation 'arraign' is perfectly correct, though the use of the word in this sense may be very rare in English. The French verb 'appointer,' O. F. 'apointier,' is a fairly common legal term of which the following examples are given in the *Dictionnaire Général*: 'Appointé que les parties mettront leurs productions au greffe,' 'Les parties étant appointées à mettre leurs pièces devant le roi.' Its most common use appears to be in the sense, 'to bring about a settlement in a suit,' *e.g.* 'appointer un procès.' Littré defines 'appointement' as 'règlement en justice par lequel, avant de faire droit aux parties, le juge ordonne de produire par écrit, ou de déposer les pièces sur le bureau, ou encore de prouver par témoins les faits articulés.' Among other meanings of 'apointier,' Godefroi gives, under one heading, 'ordonner, commander, nommer pour faire une chose, *assigner un rendez-vous à, provoquer,*' the last two of which correspond to Milton's use of the word, *viz.*, 'to arraign, challenge, call to account.'

Ernest Weekley.

FRAGMENT OF AN ANGLO-NORMAN LIFE OF EDWARD THE CONFESSOR.

A book recently came into my possession with fragments of the Life of St Edward the Confessor bound in as fly-leaves. The poem is identical with that in the collection of Anglo-Norman Lives of the Saints preserved in a MS. in the Duke of Portland's Library at Welbeck Abbey[1]. The fragments, which have unfortunately suffered considerably at the hands of the binder, give a part of a prologue which the Welbeck MS. does not contain. The MS. from which the sheets were cut was of small format, probably 8 in. by 5 in., and might well have belonged to a nunnery similar to that of Campesey, near Woodbridge, which owned the Welbeck MS. The writing is of the thirteenth century, and the initial letters are absent. Of the prologue, only one column, cut down the middle by the sixteenth century binder, and ten lines *in extenso* remain. While it is often fairly simple to imagine what the end of a line may be, it is almost impossible to conjecture the beginnings of a whole series of lines. Fortunately the last ten lines of the prologue are untouched, and offer very interesting data with regard to the French of England in the last third of the thirteenth century[2]. It is clear from lines 11, 12 and 43 that the writer is a woman.

.........en faire ad voleir,
.........t a sun poeir ;
.........t le blamerunt,
.........lz fere e nel funt.
.........suffire estot,
.........al mels qu'il pot :
.........tot le bien fait,
.........eiz que blasme en ait :
.........t a sa puisance,
.........a bone voilance.
.........e vus requise
.........me sui mise
....
....
...................ne grace,
..................us la parface.
....

Si joe l'ordre des cases ne gart,
Ne ne juigne part a sa part ;
Certes nen dei estre reprise,
Ke nel puis faire en nule guise.
Qu'en Latin est nominatif
Ço frai romanz acusatif.
Un faus franceis sai d'Angletere
Ke nel alai ailurs quere,
Mais vus ki ailurs apris l'avez,
La u mester iert, l'amendez.

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[1] Cf. Paul Meyer in Vol. XXXIII of the *Histoire littéraire de la France.*

[2] A point for the dating of these compositions may be found in the fact that Saint Richard whose life is contained in the Welbeck MS., was canonised in 1262.

Then without any further indication, other than a capital letter, the space for which was left, the fragment continues for some 240 lines with only verbal differences from the Welbeck MS.

I venture to think that the last ten lines of the prologue are a more interesting instance of the debased state of French in England in the thirteenth century than any of those quoted in Paul's *Grundriss*, Vol. I (2nd ed.), pp. 956 ff. I hope shortly to publish the complete life.

A. T. BAKER.

DANTE, 'DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA,' I, vii.

> O semper natura nostra prona peccatis! o ab initio et nunquam desinens nequitatrix! Num fuerat satis ad tui correptionem quod per primam prevaricationem eliminata, deliciarum exulabas a patria? Num satis, num satis, quod per universalem familie tue luxuriem et trucitatem, unica reservata domo, quicquid tui juris erat cataclismo perierat? et que commiseras tu, animalia celique terreque jam luerant? Quippe satis extiterat? Sed, sicut proverbialiter dici solet, *Non ante tertium equitabis*, misera miserum maluisti venire ad equum.

The four words in italics have puzzled all who have dealt with them from Giangiorgio Trissino to Signor Pio Rajna. The former renders 'Non andrai a cavallo anzi la terza.' These words naturally mean 'You shall not go on horseback before 9 A.M.' What meaning Giangiorgio gives them does not appear. Fortunately, perhaps, for him, explanations formed no part of his undertaking. His example, however, has led one or two modern editors, notably Witte (though he seems to have recanted), to read *tertiam*, against the one really authoritative MS. Giuliani kept to *tertium*, and explained *equitabis* by a reference to the chastisement of schoolboys: 'You will not get a horsing till your third fault.' What he took to be the 'subaudite' noun to *tertium* he does not say. Perhaps, like Signor Rajna, he thought that *tertium* was an adverb. Mr A. G. F. Howell, in his note to the passage in his translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* follows Giuliani, though from the concluding words of his note he seems to see that this interpretation makes nonsense: the human race having already been 'horsed' pretty smartly in the Fall and the Deluge. To anyone who ever learnt to ride in his youth, the meaning is as clear as day. How often we were told by those interested in our progress, 'You will not ride till you have had three falls'; and how true it came, certainly in my own case, probably in that of most! No doubt a similar saying was current in Tuscany in

Dante's day. The noun of course would be *casum*. With this the sense is plain. Mankind has had the two spills above-mentioned; it needed the third, that of Babel, to teach it wisdom.

I may remark that I sent this explanation to Signor Rajna some years ago, but it did not seem to commend itself to him. I should like to know how it strikes the readers of the *Modern Language Review*. It may be worth noting that Folengo (*Chaos*, *a* iii, recto) quotes a somewhat similar proverb, but from the *horse's* point of view: 'Al poledro fu sempre concesso fin a doi capestri rompere.'

A. J. BUTLER.

THE ALMANAC OF 'JACOB BEN MACHIR BEN TIBBON' (LATINÈ 'PROFACIUS')[1] c. 1300.

All Dante students are familiar with the controversy whether 1300 or 1301 is the year indicated by internal evidence as that which was assumed by Dante for the date of the Vision of the *Divina Commedia*. Though there are now scarcely any advocates remaining for the latter date, yet there are some who still maintain that there is at least one of their astronomical arguments which holds the field. It is assumed on both sides that Dante's references to the positions of the planets must correspond with their true places in the supposed year of the Vision. Now it is undeniable that Venus was in point of fact a Morning Star at Easter 1301 and an Evening Star in 1300. And the presence of Venus as a Morning Star is a conspicuous feature in the splendid description of the Easter Dawn at the beginning of the *Purgatorio*. The advocates of 1300 have been obliged hitherto to maintain that this may fairly be considered to be a purely ideal picture, and therefore not necessarily subjected to such matter-of-fact conditions.

But an entirely new light has now been thrown upon this point by the researches of Prof. Boffito. He has discovered the actual Almanac which was in general vogue in the early fourteenth century, and the one which there is little reason to doubt was that likely to have been employed by Dante. When we remember that the scene in *Purg.* i. is entirely imaginary, and that Dante was writing ten or twelve years after the date assumed for that scene, it is evident that, if he desired to conform to the astronomical conditions of the period, he would have to consult an almanac for that purpose. The remarkable point is that in this contemporary Almanac to which Prof. Boffito has called attention, Venus is in fact (though erroneously) recorded as a *Morning Star* in 1300.

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[1] J. Boffito et C. Melzi d'Eril: *Almanach Dantis Aligherii sive Profhacii Judaei Montispessulani Almanach perpetuum ad annum* 1300 *inchoatum. Nunc primum editum ad fidem codicis Laurentiani* (Pl. XVIII, sin. N. i). Florentiae, apud L. S. Olsckhi. MDCCCCVIII.

The Almanac was written in Hebrew, but was immediately translated into Latin, and became very widely known. Prof. Boffito says that it exists in 'innumeri codices,' many of them of the very beginning of the fourteenth century. (There are as many as six[1] in the Bodleian Library.) It was a 'perpetual Almanac'; *i.e.*, the Tables of the position of all the planets were constructed from 1300 onwards until in each case the number of revolutions of the epicycle brought the Planet back again (approximately) to the position which it occupied in 1300, so that the Tables could (with slight corrections for which rules are given) be used again continuously. The positions of the 'superior planets' are given at intervals of ten days; those of the more swiftly-moving 'inferior planets' at intervals of five days.

The periods of recurrence of the original position are of course very different for the different planets. Thus the Tables have had to be calculated in the case of Saturn for sixty years, in that of Jupiter for eighty-four years; in that of Mars for eighty; and in that of Mercury for forty-seven: while in the case of Venus eight years suffice.

Now it is curious that in the original Hebrew Almanac the Planetary Tables all begin from 1301, while in the Latin Version they all begin from 1300 *with the exception of Venus*, which still starts from 1301. It is singular, however, that in the 'Preface' both of the Hebrew and Latin Almanacs, it is stated that the Almanac has 1300 for its initial year. The result then is—however the strange difference may have come about—that in the case of Venus *alone* the position given in the first column is that for 1301 and it is correctly given for that year; whereas in all other cases the first column represents 1300. (In some MSS. the year 1300 has been erroneously inserted in the first column for Venus.) What then could be more natural than that any one consulting the Almanac should fall into the error of supposing that the figures which he found in the first column of the Table of Venus represented (as in the case of all the other planets) her position in 1300? If Dante made this mistake, in a perhaps cursory inspection of the

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[1] Of the six Bodleian MSS. referred to in the text, two contain Tables for the 'superior' Planets only. In the remaining four, the Tables for Venus begin with 1301, and those for the other Planets with 1300.

Almanac, he would find the position of Venus, say on April 10, to be about 20° within the sign of Pisces, and hence she was

> Velando i Pesci ch' erano in sua scorta.

By consequence, as the Sun was in Aries, Venus would be a Morning Star, visible before Sunrise, as Dante has represented her.

This interesting discovery not only destroys the supposed surviving argument for 1301, but entirely transfers it to the other side. It affords also an interesting illustration of the importance of interpreting astronomical passages in Dante by contemporary evidence and ideas, rather than by the Nautical Almanac.

E. MOORE.

REVIEWS.

Goethes Faust. Erster Teil. Edited with introduction and commentary by JULIUS GOEBEL. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1907. 12mo. lxi and 384 pp.

The most striking and, I believe, most lasting impression of this new edition of Goethe's *Faust* is one of independence and originality of treatment. Here lie the elements of its strength; but here also those of its weakness. Professor Goebel has given us a book of strong contrasts, in which high lights and deep shadows lie close together.

The very learned apparatus of annotations is proof that this edition is intended for strictly technical study, primarily in the advanced and seminary work of universities. Under these circumstances, one must regret that the editor has not chosen to present the still unsolved problems of the poem with such impartial objectivity as would afford a fair insight into the pros and cons. Such a method would have enabled the student to judge for himself, without, of course, interfering with the right of the author to press his own point of view. The least that could be expected in this direction would be careful bibliographical references to the best authorities defending opposite views. These are but rarely given, although in other respects the introduction and notes are burdened with often far-fetched references and quotations. A few excellent works are mentioned in the Preface (p. x). Of these, however, the commentaries of Friedrich Vischer, Kuno Fischer and Minor also give no bibliographical aid, whereas that given by Erich Schmidt is of almost enigmatic brevity. As a result, the student of Goebel's edition is largely cut off from the great body of detailed *Faust* criticism. A complete bibliography would, of course, have been out of the question; but that valuable help can be given in even small compass is proved by the introductory bibliographies to the editions of Breul (London, Bell, 1905) and of Witkowski (Leipzig, Hesse, 1906).

One of the most valuable features of the present edition is the numerous parallels not only from Goethe's writings, but also from contemporary authors, primarily Herder and Schiller. Much of this material has been very well selected, as *e.g.*, the notes on ll. 221 ff., 340 ff., 386 ff., 454, etc. There are other instances where more appropriate quotations might have been given. In the note on l. 766, *e.g.*, I fail to see the appropriateness of the two passages quoted, whereas I miss the excellent parallel from Herder on the interrelation of 'Wunder' and 'Glaube' quoted by Suphan (*Goethe-Jahrbuch*, 6, 310). Similar cases are the notes on l. 446 (cf. Herder, *Sämtl. Werke*, 6, 258), l. 1112 (cf. the parallels quoted by Schmidt and Witkowski), l. 2358 (letter to Schiller of April 28, 1798), etc. It is to be regretted that in his search for parallels Goebel has neglected Wieland. For in more instances than have been so far identified, phrases from Wieland, even though pitched in a very different key, seem to have helped to influence Goethe's conceptions. I refer not only to the above-quoted notes of Schmidt and Witkowski on l. 1112, but also to the passages quoted by Seuffert in his edition of the *Fragment*, p. iii ff. Quite unnecessary, on the other hand, are most, if not all, of the numerous quotations from Middle High German sources or other early writers[1], many of which are not even particularly to the point (see the notes on ll. 1042 ff, 2101 f., 2765, etc.). So, for instance, Faust's dissatisfaction with human knowledge is commented on by quotations ranging from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, whereas Rousseau and his general influence on his age are not even mentioned. As a matter of fact, these medieval warnings against all but scripturally sanctioned knowledge have nothing in common with Faust's despair at the insufficiency of what it is given to man to know. If this characteristic storm and stress sentiment needs at all to be genealogically traced, why not go back to 1 *Cor.* 13, 9?

The most characteristic contribution of the edition to *Faust* criticism consists, however, in the systematic effort to trace Goethe's indebtedness to the alchemistic and spiritistic literature with which he was likely to have become acquainted before 1772–3, when he came under Swedenborg's influence. Such an attempt is indeed welcome, for it has never been adequately undertaken before. Following Düntzer, Loeper and others quoted some disconnected parallels. Then Graffunder, in 1891, in his article on 'Der Erdgeist und Mephistopheles in Goethes *Faust*' made a more systematic investigation of those sources with which Goethe, according to his own testimony in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, became familiar during his second stay at Frankfurt, 1768—1770, or shortly after. But the scope of Graffunder's investigation was limited, and he neglected whatever had no direct bearing on the 'Erdgeist.' In 1894, Erich Schmidt directed attention to Swedenborg and, as a result, Max Morris, in 1899, published his careful investigation of the interrelation between the thought-world of Faust and that of the Swedish ghost-seer. Unfortunately Morris, in his attempt to ascribe everything in question directly to Swedenborg, made too light of the evidence adduced by Graffunder. Even the highly suggestive passage from van Helmont's *Paradoxal-Discourse*, which Graffunder had quoted for the vision of the macrocosmos, found no favour with Morris. He declared that any attempt to establish an alchemistic basis for the opening monologue was doomed to failure, as such a basis did not exist. This statement, however, rests on an evident misconception of alchemy or at least of so-called alchemistic literature. It is true that the Faust of the opening monologue has ceased to be an alchemist in the narrower sense of the word (that he had formerly been one is shown by ll. 695 and 1050); the aid which he expects from magic is of a spiritistic character. But alchemistic teachings are inextricably bound up with astrological speculation and a demonological cosmogony, this being a natural result of the fundamental belief in the spiritual inter-relations between the stars, especially the seven planets (astrology), and the principal metals on the one hand (alchemy) and the sideric or planetary spirits on the other (demonology). Innumerable passages from authors like Paracelsus, Welling, van Helmont and others could be quoted in proof of the constant and subtle interdependence of these three spheres, and Goethe might have gathered almost all the elements of Faust's spiritism from these 'alchemists.' At any rate, there can be no doubt that when, in 1772, he actually became acquainted with Swedenborg, his earlier alchemistic studies had rendered him peculiarly susceptible to this influence, as at a later date to that of Spinoza, and there is no special need of assuming with Morris that it was just the influence of Swedenborg that induced him to represent the magician Faust as primarily a conjurer of spirits.

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[1] These parallels suggest the characteristic manner of R. Hildebrand, to whose 'Handexemplar' of *Faust* Goebel states his indebtedness for a number of valuable hints and references. It would have been interesting to know more in detail wherein we have to see Hildebrand's ideas, as he himself has hardly published anything on the subject of *Faust*.

Now, Goebel assumes towards Morris and his theory the same negative attitude which Morris had taken up towards Graffunder. On p. 277 Goebel says: 'The parallel passages quoted by Morris are, with one or two exceptions, too general and far-fetched to prove his point. Moreover, it could easily be shown, if it were worth the while, that most of the ideas which Morris claims as original with Swedenborg occur in the alchemistic, cabalistic, and magic writings which Goethe studied.' But Goebel is not satisfied with this assertion, in support of which he is able to muster a good deal of interesting material; he sets up a new idol in the place of Swedenborg, namely, Iamblichus, the Neoplatonic philosopher of the fourth century, the pupil of Porphyry and, hence, indirectly of Plotinus; or rather, the treatise on theurgy, *De Mysteriis Aegyptiorum*, which is generally ascribed to Iamblichus, although his authorship is by no means certain. As Goebel makes no reference whatever to the other genuine writings of Iamblichus, it is probably fair to assume that they contain nothing that could be claimed to have influenced Goethe's *Faust.* In the Preface (p. viii) Goebel states: 'I attach a certain importance to my discovery that Goethe must have known and used Iamblichus' book *De Mysteriis.*' It seems natural, therefore, that in a detailed review of the edition the attempt should be made to test this new theory, especially as an earlier article by Goebel (*Proceedings of the Amer. Philol. Assoc.* for 1905, pp. v—vi), as far as I know, has not led to any discussion of the subject[1].

It is true, we know that Goethe, at an early age, was attracted to the study of Neoplatonism, not only in 1768 as Goebel assumes on p. xxix, but as early as 1764–5 (cf. Weimar-Ausgabe, 27, 382). This early study, however, concerned Plotinus and we find nowhere in Goethe's writings or conversations any mention of Iamblichus. In fact, the evidence of the well-known passage of the eighth book of *Dichtung und Wahrheit* does not point in this direction at all. Of the authors there mentioned[1], Goethe states his special interest in Welling's *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum*, the *Aurea Catena Homeri*, Boerhave and Arnold; to the same category belongs also Paracelsus who is frequently quoted by Goethe and whom, as we know from some of the entries of the *Ephemerides*, he specially studied. Lastly, it should not be overlooked that Goethe was exceedingly familiar with the Bible, the mystic suggestiveness of which for certain Faustian thoughts and conceptions has not yet been adequately recognized.

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[1] Goebel (p. 289) refers to this article as 'a detailed account of Goethe's indebtedness to Iamblichus.' In reality it is a brief report of two pages, containing considerably less material than the introduction and notes of the present edition.

These sources should obviously be thoroughly investigated, before explanations and 'influences' are looked for in other fields. This rule Goebel, who certainly has delved deeper into these dark regions than his predecessors, unfortunately does not observe; else he would not again and again refer to Iamblichus or even more remote sources ideas which can be just as well or even better traced to Goethe's actual reading.

In speaking of Welling, Goethe himself (Hempel-Ausgabe, 21, 118) notes the fact that this author traces his doctrine to the Neoplatonists (Welling mentions Proclus, Porphyry, Plotinus, etc., but not Iamblichus), and then continues: 'Gedachtes Werk erwähnt seiner Vorgänger mit vielen Ehren, und wir wurden daher angeregt, jene Quellen selbst aufzusuchen.' But then he goes on: 'Wir wendeten uns nun an die Werke des Theophrastus Paracelsus und Basilius Valentinus, nicht weniger an Helmont, Starckey und Andere, deren mehr oder weniger auf Natur und Einbildung beruhende Lehren und Vorschriften wir einzusehen und zu befolgen suchten. Mir wollte besonders die "Aurea Catena Homeri" gefallen.' Hence, at the very place where one might expect Goethe to refer to Neoplatonic studies, he does not do so; and the account which Goebel on p. xxix gives of the passage in question is not an impartial statement of the facts.

As soon as we try to establish 'direct' connections between spiritistic conceptions of the seventeenth or eighteenth century and Neoplatonic speculation, we tread on very uncertain ground; not because the connections themselves are doubtful, but because the possibilities of how, in any given case, a connection may have been brought about are bewilderingly numerous. Neoplatonic influences—partly introduced through Jewish or Mohammedan philosophy, partly through the Christian mysticism of the middle ages, partly through the Neoplatonic revival of the Renaissance—are being gradually recognized as of the utmost importance in shaping modern religious and philosophical thought. I need only refer to the overshadowing influence that scholars like Drews or Picavet have recently attributed to the dynamic pantheism of Plotinus. Goebel, of course, is not unaware of these intricate interrelations (cf. *e.g.*, pp. xx, 280, 288, etc.); he himself repeatedly traces certain teachings of Paracelsus and Agrippa to Iamblichus and, on the other hand, emphasizes the influence of the men of the Renaissance upon later eclectic writers like Welling, van Helmont and others. He proves that many points ascribed by Morris exclusively to the influence of Swedenborg, who stands at the very end of the line in question, can be explained equally well from other sources. But he does not seem to be willing to admit that, similarly, many ideas in Iamblichus may have found their way into Goethe's *Faust* through indirect channels. Goebel admits that Goethe is not likely to have read the fairly difficult Greek of *De Mysteriis* and says (p. xxix) that 'he seems to have read [it] in Thomas Gale's translation (London, 1674)[1].' I do not see why just this inference should be drawn. Latin versions of Iamblichus, generally together with analogous writings by Proclus, Porphyry, Mercurius Trismegistus, etc., were repeatedly printed, *e.g.*, Venice 1497, Basle 1532, London 1552, Rome 1556. This point is not without importance, for it proves that the book was widely known and easily accessible during the Renaissance period, and that its teachings must easily have found entrance into later books on magic.

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[1] Welling, Paracelsus, Basilius Valentinus, van Helmont, Starckey, *Aurea Catena Homeri*, Boerhave and Arnold. To these should be added Agrippa, already referred to in the fourth book. Swedenborg and Spinoza belong to a later period.

The principal conceptions and expressions in *Faust* which to Goebel suggest the direct influence of *De Mysteriis*[2] are the following: (1) the character of the Earth-Spirit; (2) the character of Mephistopheles; (3) Mephistopheles' relation to the Earth-Spirit; (4) the phenomena attending the appearance of the Earth-Spirit; (5) the use of the moonlight (l. 386 ff.); (6) 'Seelenkraft' (l. 424); (7) 'die heil'gen Zeichen' (l. 427); (8) 'dies geheimnisvolle Buch' (l. 419); (9) 'der Weise' (l. 442); (10) 'Dein Sinn ist zu' (l. 444); (11) 'Morgenrot' (l. 446); (12) 'Zwei Seelen...' (l. 1112); (13) 'die Liebe Gottes' (l. 1185); (14) the attempt to translate *John*, 1, 1; (15) the prayer to the Earth-Spirit in 'Wald und Höhle.' The great majority of these references belong to the opening monologue and are identical with those which Morris has attempted to trace to Swedenborg. This is especially true of the first four items. These are by far the most interesting and I shall be obliged to discuss them somewhat in detail.

With regard to 1, 2 and 3, Goebel bases his argument chiefly on *De Myst.*, 9, 9: 'per Deum unum, Dominum Daemonum, agitur eorum [*i.e.*, daemonum propriorum] invocatio, qui et a principio suum cuique Daemonem definivit...Semper enim in ritibus sacris inferior per superiorem invocatur: quare etiam de Daemonibus ut loquar, est unus quidem eorum dux qui generationis et mundi princeps est, isque ad unumquemque Daemonem suum dimittit.' This 'lord of demons,' according to Goebel (p. xlv), 'is, without doubt, identical with the Earth-Spirit,' by whom Mephistopheles is assigned to Faust as his 'daemon proprius.' For Goebel, with the majority of *Faust* critics, assumes that, according to the plan of the *Urfaust*, Mephistopheles was to be a messenger of the Earth-Spirit. If, however, Mephistopheles is to be considered as a 'daemon proprius,' evil spirits must be able to act in this capacity. This Goebel asserts. He says: 'The demon which this Spirit assigns to each individual may be either good or evil.' As a matter of fact, the teaching of Iamblichus is very different. He believes, it is true, in the existence of evil demons, but he distinctly states that they cannot become 'daemones proprii.' Cf. *De Myst.*, 9, 7: 'Introducis autem et in ipsis pugnam, tamquam dominantium Daemonum alii boni, alii mali sint, cum tamen mali spiritus nusquam praefecturas habeant[1].' Going on to consider the relation in which Goethe intended the Earth-Spirit to stand to Mephistopheles, Goebel continues: 'Following the directions of Iamblichus, Goethe may have planned a scene in which the Spirit...informs Faust who his future companion is to be.' But this, too, is untenable. According to Iamblichus, the 'daemon proprius' is assigned to the soul even before it enters the world of bodies. Cf. *De Myst.*, 9, 6: 'Hic igitur Daemon praeextiterat in paradigmate, priusquam in genesin descenderet anima; hic.. statim animae adest,...quaeque cogitamus ab eo principium habent, et ea agimus quae nobis in mentem is induxerit, denique eatenus nos gubernat, quoad sacris perfecti pro Daemone Deum animae custodem et ducem adipiscamur.' In reading this passage one is tempted to think of Goethe's beautiful lines:

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[1] As a matter of fact, Goebel does not seem to have quoted the text from this edition; for on p. 279 *e.g.*, where Parthey (Berlin, 1857) differs from Gale, Goebel follows the former. It is also to be regretted that the English translations occasionally given are taken from the poor and awkward rendering of Thomas Taylor (Chiswick, 1821).

[2] Goebel uses no uncertain language on this point. He not only claims 'that Goethe was well acquainted with the teachings of Iamblichus' (p. 279), but that he 'carefully studied [*De Mysteriis*] for the conjuration of the Earth-Spirit' (p. xlv). Cf. also pp. 281, 288, 291, 305.

Teilnehmend führen gute Geister,
Gelinde leitend, höchste Meister,
Zu dem, der alles schafft und schuf,

but certainly not of Mephistopheles who in the *Urfaust* appears even more fiendish than in the later stages of the poem. If we are to find in Mephistopheles a 'daemon proprius' in the sense of *De Mysteriis*, he must be considered as a good spirit and as the custodian of Faust's soul from the beginning. Such an assumption, however, is utterly impossible and would deprive the psychological problem, even of the *Urfaust*, of all rational meaning.

Assuming, however, for argument's sake, that Goebel's explanation of the relation of Mephistopheles to the Earth-Spirit be correct, then the latter is a 'deus,' *i.e.*, one of the first rank in the hierarchy of spirits, which Iamblichus generally enumerates in the following order: 'dii, archangeli, angeli, daemones, heroes, archontes, animae.' The point is of some interest, for, according to Iamblichus, this hierarchy is not only firmly established, but it must be carefully observed (see the passage quoted above: 'Semper enim in ritibus sacris inferior per superiorem invocatur,' 9, 9). In another connection, however (p. 355, as also p. 291), Goebel maintains that 'the Earth-Spirit belongs to the Archontes,' because, according to *De Myst.*, 2, 5, it is they who 'either give us the government of mundane concerns or the inspection of material natures.' This definition Goebel requires in order to prove that ll. 3230–1 of the prayer to the Earth-Spirit ('Gabst mir die herrliche Natur zum Königreich...') are also based on Iamblichus. That is, according to *De Myst.*, 9, 9, the Earth-Spirit must be a 'deus' and according to 2, 5, he must be an 'archon,' notwithstanding the fact that the two orders are separated in the hierarchy of spirits by almost the entire length of the line. Besides, an 'archon' could not possibly be a power that controls and assigns demons. For these are themselves of a higher order. As far as this point is concerned, it must therefore be maintained that the assumed relation of Mephistopheles and the Earth-Spirit has no basis whatever in *De Mysteriis.*

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[1] 'Praefectura,' with Iamblichus, is the term for the assigned power which a 'daemon proprius' has over a human soul. The same view as to the 'daemones proprii' is also held by Agrippa, whom Goebel does not quote in this connection. Cf. *De occulta philosophia*, 3, 22: 'Triplex unicuique homini daemon bonus est proprius custos.' This passage is especially interesting, for it shows that Goethe was not bound to get even the idea of a 'dominus daemonum' from Iamblichus, but could have taken it from Agrippa, who continues: 'Daemon quidem sacer...a superna causa, ab ipso daemonum praeside deo descendenti animae rationali adsignatur.'

4. The same confusion appears in Goebel's explanation of the phenomena attending the appearance of the Earth-Spirit. On p. 289 ff. Goebel enumerates thirteen different phenomena (*e.g.*, the darkening of the moon, the darting of red flashes of light, the vapour and so forth, as well as the various effects of the apparition upon Faust) and minutely traces each of them to some passage in *De Mysteriis.* On examination we find that four of them are attributed by Iamblichus to the 'dii,' five to the 'daemones,' two to the 'heroes,' one to the 'archontes.' One, finally, which is to explain the phrase: 'Es weht ein Schauer vom Gewölb' herab,' does not refer to spirit-apparitions at all, but to dream-visions (*De Myst.*, 3, 2). In itself, of course, it would not be strange if a poet should choose and connect elements that suit his purposes, regardless of their original significance. But we must remember that section 2 of *De Mysteriis,* on which Goebel in this case bases his argument, has no other purpose than to distinguish between the various phenomena and influences connected with the different orders of spirits[1]. Each chapter enumerates the different classes of spirits, explaining how they are to be distinguished with regard to size, splendour, effect upon the soul, etc. Such a mixing of the most heterogeneous of these elements, as we should have to assume for Goethe's Earth-Spirit, would, to say the least, be as foreign as possible to the teaching of *De Mysteriis*; whereas the account given by Goebel tends to produce the opposite

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[1] Cf. *De Myst.*, 2, 3: 'Quaeris enim quo indicio cognoscamus aut Deum apparere aut angelum aut archangelum aut daemonem aut aliquem principum aut animam. Uno igitur verbo statuo, eorum epiphanias respondere eorum essentiis, potestatibus et operationibus: quales enim sunt, tales invocantibus apparent...Sed ut singulatim haec determinem'... and then follows the description of the different apparitions and the phenomena associated with them.

impression. His method may be judged from the following instance. On page 289 he says: 'The effect of the apparition upon the conjurer is thus described by Iamblichus, Sec. II, Cap. 3: "Daemones horribiles sunt...obstupefaciunt...videntibus noxii occurrunt et dolores afferunt" ("wie's in meinem Herzen reisst"); Cap. 6: "omnes nostras facultates in propria principia restaurant" ("Zu neuen Gefühlen...").' As a matter of fact, the last statement does not refer to 'daemones,' but to the 'dii,' of whom Iamblichus repeatedly tells us: 'Dii ordinem et quietem in apparitionibus ostendunt...pulchritudine incomparabili fulgent, admiratione spectantes defigunt, divinum quoddam instillant gaudium.' If, under such circumstances, Goethe's indebtedness to *De Mysteriis* is to be made plausible, it must be shown that the individual traits, taken by themselves, are of such a peculiar nature that Goethe could not have easily found them elsewhere. This, however, is not the case. In some instances, Morris has been able to quote as good or even far better parallels from Swedenborg[1]; others can be readily found in almost all books on magic; others again are so natural to the situation that there is no need of tracing them to any literary source at all.

Thus, also with regard to the phenomena attending the apparition of the Earth-Spirit, the scene to which Goebel attaches most importance in the attempt to prove his theory, I must insist that his deductions are not convincing. At the same time, several of the parallels which he quotes in this connection are very interesting and instructive, and I do not wish to deny all possibility of an interrelation between the descriptions in *De Mysteriis* and the scene in *Faust*. Only, what similarity there is, need not be due to direct acquaintance on Goethe's part with Iamblichus and can, under no circumstances, be claimed as the result of 'careful study' of *De Mysteriis*.

I shall have to be very brief in the discussion of the remaining points. 5. The attempt to connect the moonlight scene (ll. 368 ff.) with Iamblichus is particularly unfortunate. *De Myst.*, 3, 14, to which Goebel refers, reads: 'Ideo congruenter illuminati tum tenebras in auxilium adsciscunt, tum etiam solem, lunam (et ut verbo dicam) universum aetheris fulgorem ad illustrationem mutuantur.' Thus, no matter whether the scene in *Faust* took place in darkness, or sunlight, or moonlight, or dawn, Goebel could, with equally convincing force, trace it to Iamblichus. The same is true of Welling, p. 418 (not 148), to which Goebel also refers. Here, too, no greater importance is attached to the moon than to the sun or any other planet. A real preference for the moon I have found only in Agrippa, *De occ. philos.*, 2, 32, which seems to have escaped Goebel. The chapter treats 'De sole et luna, eorumque magicis rationibus.' Of the moon Agrippa says: 'Motus ejus prae caeteris observandus est, quasi omnium conceptuum parentis.'

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[1] Cf. *e.g.*, l. 484 ('an meiner Sphäre lang' gesogen'). It is again characteristic of Goebel's method that he passes over this expression without comment. For only Swedenborg has, so far, been shown to represent spiritual intercourse not only as 'attractio,' but also as 'suctio.'

But I am far from attributing even to this source Goethe's poetic use of the moonlight motif, which, no doubt, had its origin in his own heart during many a real moonlight-night.

6, 7. The belief in the supernatural powers of the 'vis imaginationis,' its essential difference from all processes of reasoning, and its mysterious dependence upon the stars is at the basis of all theosophy and magic. Goebel's own quotations on p. 278 show it. Whether *De Myst.*, 3, 14 is actually the primary source of this theory or whether it did not exist long before the time of Iamblichus, is quite immaterial to the point in question. Goethe could not help getting this fundamental idea from any one of his authorities, and the suggestive passage from Welling (ed. 1760), p. 122, quoted in full, would have been more helpful and more to the point than the one from Iamblichus. The same is true concerning the 'heil'gen Zeichen' of l. 427.

8, 9. With regard to 'das geheimnisvolle Buch von Nostradamus' eigner Hand' (l. 419 f.) Goebel says: 'The opinion of E. Schmidt and M. Morris, according to which Goethe really meant Swedenborg when he wrote Nostradamus, seems to me absolutely wrong.' But he unhesitatingly adds: 'It is far more probable that the "geheimnisvolle Buch" is Iamblichus' *De Mysteriis*.' Similarly he says of 'der Weise' of l. 442: '[Goethe's] veneration for him does not appear to have been great enough[1] to justify the creation of a monument to him in *Faust*'; but he asserts on the next page: 'this philosopher (der Weise = philosophus) is, in my opinion, none other than Iamblichus.' I must confess that I am rather at a loss how to account for such reasoning. One may readily admit that Schmidt and Morris have by no means *proved* that Swedenborg was meant, but they have certainly succeeded in supporting the assumption with a fair show of plausibility. I cannot see that better arguments, in fact, that any arguments at all, point to Iamblichus.

10, 11. The lines, 'Dein Sinn ist zu' and 'Auf, bade, Schüler,' etc., Goebel likewise claims should not be explained on the basis of Swedenborgian terminology. He is inclined to consider them, too, as a 'poetic translation' of a certain passage in *De Mysteriis*, although this seems to me to be far less to the point than those which Morris cites from Swedenborg. On the other hand, I again make the point, which Goebel's own further quotations support, that the two symbols of 'unlocking' and 'illuminating' belong to the regular stock-in-trade of almost all hermetic writings, in the very titles of which they frequently play a prominent part. I refer to the excellent appendix ('Beitrag zur Bibliographie der Alchemie') to Herm. Kopp's *Alchemie in älterer und neuerer Zeit*, Heidelberg, 1886, II, 308—396.

12. Of l. 1112 ('Zwei Seelen wohnen, ach, in meiner Brust') Goebel says that it was 'obviously suggested' by *De Myst.*, 8, 6: 'Homo duas habet animas, quod ipsa Hermetis sacra scripta ostendunt.' This passage is again without conclusive force, for it expresses a thought (the

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[1] The passage from Goethe's review of Lavater's *Aussichten in die Ewigkeit* (W.-A., 37, 261) which is generally referred to Swedenborg, Goebel, far less acceptably, desires to refer to Klopstock.

conflicting dualism of the soul of man) quite common to the mysticism of all ages and far older than Iamblichus. I can here only briefly refer to the instructive note on this line in the edition of Witkowski and to the fact that even in *De Mysteriis* the 'Hermetic writings' are referred to as a source. The quotation, as Goebel has it, is, moreover, marred by an omission which gives the passage a different turn and one unduly favourable to the construction Goebel puts on it. He says that, according to Iamblichus, the one soul comes to us 'a primo intelligibili,' the other 'ex circuitu mundorum.' The text, however, reads: 'ex circuitu coelestium mundorum' (*ἐκ τῆς τῶν οὐρανίων περιφορᾶς*), *i.e.*, from the stars. If, therefore, we are told of this second soul: 'mundorum quoque obtemperat motibus,' this does not mean anything like 'sich an die Welt klammern' in Goethe's sense. It simply means that this second soul is 'subject to the motion of the stars[1].' As a matter of fact, the chapter, from which the passage is quoted, deals with the question whether, or not, there exists a fateful dependence of the human soul upon the heavenly bodies, and Iamblichus answers the question by saying that the one soul ('a primo intelligibili') is not dependent in this way, but that the second is. His statement has no direct reference to the Faustian idea, so beautifully expressed in the poem *Legende*:

> Mit dem Haupt im Himmel weilend,
> Fühlen, Paria, dieser Erde
> Niederziehende Gewalt.

Besides, passages concerning this two-soul-theory may be quoted from Paracelsus and Welling, to whom Goebel refers as little as to the quotations in the editions of Schmidt and Witkowski.

13, 14. Goebel (p. 311) quotes passages from Agrippa and Iamblichus which may have aided, he thinks, in determining Goethe to have Faust attempt the translation of the *Gospel of John*. Again the relation is far-fetched, and Goebel, who generally quotes Herder freely, does not even allude to the possible influence of Herder (cf. Suphan, *Goethe-Jb.*, 6, 308). In 'die Liebe Gottes' of l. 1185 Goebel is not willing to see an allusion to the 'amor intellectualis' of Spinoza. He refers it to *De Myst.*, 5, 26, where the religious effects of prayer are described. He says: 'Instead of using theurgic prayers, Faust, the Christian "magus," turns, of course, to the New Testament.' If we really assume this passage to have influenced the scene in *Faust*, Goethe must be accused of having put the cart before the horse. For, with him, 'die Liebe Gottes' is not the result of turning to the Bible, but rather the cause leading up to it.

15. Faust's fervent thanks to the Earth-Spirit for having granted him insight into nature Goebel (p. 355) wishes also to trace to *De Mysteriis*, where (2, 5) we learn of the 'archontes': 'vel praesidentiam rerum mundanarum exhibent, vel materialium studium.' Granting even that the Earth-Spirit could be one of the 'archontes' (see above, page 385), I still fail to see any real resemblance. The Greek text

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[1] The translation by Thomas Taylor, which Goebel quotes, is awkward and obscure.

(*ἄρχοντες δὲ ἤτοι τὴν προστασίαν τῶν περικοσμίων ἢ τὴν τῶν ἐνύλων ἐπιστασίαν ἐγχειρίζουσι*) perhaps shows more plainly than the Latin translation that what is here meant is something quite different from the feeling of oneness with all nature expressed in the prayer.

In summing up the evidence which I have tried to examine with all possible care and impartiality, I feel compelled to say that Goebel has not been able to show plausible grounds for assuming that Goethe knew *De Mysteriis*. The most telling parallels which he is able to adduce are concerned with the phenomena attending the apparition of the Earth-Spirit, and even these cannot be considered reasonably convincing. The idea that Goethe 'carefully studied' the book and consciously used it as a source, must be dismissed altogether.

There are a number of other instances, not involving Iamblichus, where Goebel has fallen into the same error of trying to prove too much by unduly straining his evidence. The most objectionable case occurs in the attempt to explain the much discussed 'goldnen Eimer' of l. 450. Unfortunately this point cannot be made clear in a word or two. The passage has puzzled commentators for a long time and the work from which Goebel quotes is sufficiently rare to permit but few investigators to test the correctness of his statement for themselves. Goebel claims that, according to the terminology of alchemy, 'the "Eimer" (urna) is not only the vessel in which the philosopher's stone is made, but also a celestial body.' This he tries to prove by a quotation from J. P. Faber, *Chymische Schrifften*, Hamburg, 1713[1]. As a matter of fact, fairly extensive reading in alchemistic literature and the examination of numerous 'lexica alchemiae' convince me that if the word is ever so used, such use must be exceedingly rare. I have never found 'Eimer' in that sense. Besides, practically all writers on the subject emphasize the fact that the vessel (generally called 'Ei' or 'ovum') must be of glass[2]. The sentences, which Goebel wrenches from all context, in reality mean something entirely different from what they are made to represent. They are taken from an abstruse section: 'Von allen und jeden Constellationen des Firmaments, aus welchen Theilen des Lichts selbige bestehen und was für Kräffte sie haben.' The chapter in question is entitled: 'Von dem Becher oder Eymer (Urna) dem 42sten Gestirn [*i.e.*, Sternbild] des Firmaments.' Each such chapter starts off in a rather stereotyped manner, as *e.g.* 1, 175: 'Pegasus oder das geflügelte Pferd ist das 19de Gestirn des Firmaments, ist nichts anders als das Licht der Natur, welches aus der ersten Massa der ersten Materie in die Höhe sublimiret, dem Firmament angehefftet und in 20. Sterne abgetheilet worden...' The same sort of statement ('Dieser Eymer ist auch das Licht der Natur...') is thus also made about the 'Eymer,' *i.e.*, the constellation of that name, although Goebel, without a word of comment, quotes it (incorrectly in some details), as if it referred to the alchemist's vessel. Moreover, bent upon explaining the beneficial influences of his 'Eimer' ('mit segenduftenden Schwingen'), Goebel stops the quotation too soon. It runs on: 'Dieses Gestirn machet auch eitele und lügenhaffte Menschen, wie auch unbeständige, ungesunde und weibische, wie auch wollüstige.'

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[1] I quote from the 2nd ed., 1725.

[2] *E.g., Neue alchym. Bibl.* (1772–74), I, 2, 234.

These statements about the climatic and psychic influences of a given constellation are followed in each case by a mythological story trying to account for the existence of the constellation, and finally by an attempt to compare allegorically the constellation with something connected with alchemy. To account for the 'urna' in the heavens, the author tells the blood-curdling story of king Demiphon to whom his exasperated vassals handed a goblet (Becher) from which he drank the blood of his own daughter. Then the account continues: 'Jupiter aber hat dieses Gefäss im Himmel haben wollen, dass es daselbst unter die Gestirne gesetzet würde, damit die Könige hieraus lernen möchten, dass ihnen nicht zugelassen sey, ihre Unterthanen dergestalt zu beleidigen. Der Eymer ist also im Himmel, welcher die Rache so vieler Bubenstücke in sich enthält. Der Eymer aber oder der Becher, ist bei denen Chymisten unser Gefäss, worin unser Stein gekochet wird.' The author, that is to say, casting about for something in alchemy that might be said to represent the 'Eimer' of the heavens and the 'Becher' of his story, chooses the 'ovum' of the alchemists because, as he explains, the various processes of the preparation of the philosophers' stone can be compared with the pestilence, murders, wedding-feasts and blood-drinking that play an unsavoury part in the story of Demiphon.

As a matter of fact, not even Faber himself ever calls the alchemists' vessel 'Eimer' or 'urna,' and I think the above explanation plainly shows that the 'Eimer' actually referred to in Faber is anything but 'segenduftend.' It is difficult to take seriously the suggestion that Goethe could have based his vision on this source.

Of real interest, however, among many others, is the passage which Goebel advances in explanation of ll. 1042 ff. ('Da ward ein roter Leu,' etc.). It is decidedly more to the point than the comments of earlier editors. But the *Theatrum Chemicum*, from which Goebel quotes, is merely a compilation containing the works of various writers, and Goebel should state that the passage in question occurs in the *Congeries Paracelsicae Chemiae* by Gerardus Dorneus. The original passage I found in Paracelsus' *De Spiritibus Planetarum* and it is thus additional proof that the whole extent of Paracelsian influence upon Goethe's *Faust* has not yet been recognised[1].

This is one of those instances where, as I have stated above, even Goebel has not made sufficient use of the alchemistic literature unquestionably known to Goethe. I hope to publish soon some gleanings from my reading in this literature and to show that it contains more material of interest for the student of *Faust* and young Goethe than has generally been believed. Goebel himself (p. xxx) points out that a broader significance attaches to these questions, inasmuch as many of the fundamental conceptions of alchemistic and spiritistic writers, like

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[1] Cf. Loeper's introduction, p. LI, and E. Schmidt's note on l. 1034.

Paracelsus, Agrippa, Welling, van Helmont and others, show a decided affinity to characteristic principles of the 'Sturm und Drang' and of its chief apostle Herder. Goebel's edition contains a great deal of new material that is decidedly valuable in this respect and it must be acknowledged that he has gone considerably further afield than any of his predecessors; his results will modify, though not supersede, the one-sided Swedenborgian theory too exclusively adhered to of late.

In conclusion, I regret to be obliged to call attention to one aspect of the edition, where the editor has sorely failed to meet reasonable expectations. While the introduction and the text are entirely acceptable with regard to all minor matters of accuracy, the proofs of the notes must have been read with unpardonable haste. Of the 137 pages of notes I have marked over eighty which are disfigured by errors of all kinds, often three or four or more to a page. Of course, the majority of them are of a minor nature, readily corrected by the reader; but there are many that seriously affect the sense. In the following list I mention but a few of the most annoying. I generally confine myself to giving the corrected form, occasionally adding Goebel's reading in brackets: xxii, 2 f. b.: fein [sein]; xlv, 11: Welt- und Thatengenius (cf. xlix and 267); xlvii, 16: comma after 'vernehme'; l, 7: Thaten-Genuss (also in other points Goebel's reading of the first paralipomenon is not in accord with the MS., and the reading on p. l differs from that of p. 332); li, 15: geschäftig; lxi, 9: können [dürfen]; 3, 5: euch; 80, 1768: geheilt; 178, 3482: verzeih'; 229, 5: dass; 253, 16: erschien; 263, 16: ging'; 264, 23: 343 [43]; 267, 15: 122 [20]; 267, 16 ff.: the passage is incorrectly quoted; 271, 4: schlendern [schleudern]; 272, 16: ein Fürst (there are numerous other errors in this quotation, as in several of the following); 273, 13 f. b.: 461 [401]; 274, 1 f. b.: 418 [148]; 275, 3: keusch; 278, 18: gethan gleich als (also this passage is very imperfectly quoted and unintelligible at the close); 279, 12: a se ipsa; 280, 13: 439 [459]; 280, 16: nach [in] (numerous other errors in this passage); 281, 20: no comma after 'visiones'; 283, 9: aliquam [alignam]; 285, 13 f. b.: die Höhe; 285, 9 f. b.: wurtzliche Feuchtigkeit; 288, 6: LXVIII [LVIII]; 289, 2: conspicitur [conscipitur]; 289, 3: solem [solum]; 289, 8: Cap. 2 [4]; 289, 10: sensu et; 289, 17: erwühlen [erwählen]; 290, 6: docent [docet]; 290, 15: pronunciatae; 290, 14 f. b. Quomodo [Unomodo]; 300, 7: 638 [633]; 305, 9: ex circuitu coelestium mundorum; 305, 10: anima quae; 307, 4, 3 f. b.: vermis [vermio], donec [dones]; 307, 2 f. b.: instar [istar]; 316, 18: in [is]; 328, 22: II, 13, g [9]; 329, 16: den [der]; 330, 14: no comma after 'Volk'; 330, 25: period after 'verrannt'; 333, 5 f. b.: hier [wir]; 338, 11: eingezäunt; 341, 8, 7 f. b.: erfuhr, aufgeblähet, vom; 342, 8 f. b.: Stolberg; 342, 5 f. b.: alle; 348, 1: 2495 [2995]; 353, 3 f. b.: 2939 [2936]; 354, 13: Ihr's; 355, 6 f. b.: mundanarum [mundarum]; 356, 6: qui [quid]; 356, 7: ad unumquemque dimittit daemonem suum; 362, 10: constitutes; 363, 4: ahnte; 365, 8 f. b.: auf; 368, 4: diesen; 368, 9: vom; 371, 5: no comma; 371, 9 f. b.: Henisch; 371, 7 f. b.: direction; 375, 4: 4119; 378, 11: geblieben [geblichen]; 378, 7 f. b. and

379, 8: there is no note on ll. 3241 ff.; 379, 14: Lenore; 381, 15: freies; 381, 8 f. b.: grasses; 382, 8 ff.: Machandelbaum; 382, 10 f. b.: Phantasieen; 383, 21: hatten; 384, 5 f. b.: comma before 'Goethe.'

Such an array of sins against one of the cardinal points of sound scholarship cannot be overlooked or made light of. In all other respects, however, I am glad to be able to state that the errors I have pointed out are those of a scholar overshooting his aim rather than not rising to the demands of his task. The range of reading and of original investigation represented by the edition must receive unstinted recognition. The treatment, as I have shown, not infrequently lays itself open to the charge of exaggeration and is often deficient in impartiality, but it is never commonplace or trivial. The future student of *Faust*—not only in England and America, but in Germany as well—cannot afford to overlook Goebel's work, even though he be not in agreement with him on many points.

A. R. Hohlfeld.

The Syntax of the Temporal Clause in Old English Prose. By Arthur Adams. (*Yale Studies in English*, Vol. XXXII.) New York: H. Holt and Co., 1907. 8vo. x + 245 pp.

'The aim of this study is to treat exhaustively all the important syntactical features of the temporal clause in all the prose monuments of Old English.' In this endeavour Dr Adams has succeeded admirably, giving us an almost perfect basis, within the limits assigned, for wider generalization. About forty prose texts have been sifted, yielding nearly nine thousand clauses which have the function of an adverbial determinant of time. These have been analyzed with remarkable clearness of vision, and their significant elements classified as follows.

Chapter I presents the 'Connectives of the Clause.' Over two hundred words or formulæ are noted, a fact which emphasizes anew the inherent variety and flexibility of our mother tongue. These Dr Adams arranges under six categories: clauses denoting time when; clauses denoting immediate sequence; clauses denoting duration; clauses determining the time of an action by reference to a preceding action; clauses determining the time of an action by reference to a subsequent action; clauses indicating the time of the termination of the action of the main clause. Under each of these six groups are full citations illustrating each separate connective, with brief but pointed discussion of its origin, structure, syntactical, and stylistic value; also, where possible, note is made of its parallel in cognate languages and in the later stages of English itself.

In addition to this breadth of view, a commendable independence marks these sections. I cannot forbear noting one instance, under *siððan*, on page 100: 'This conjunction is, according to Sweet, compounded of the preposition *sið* and its object in the dative. Others regard *ðan* as being the instrumental in a phrase of comparison. I incline to the latter view; for *ðæm* does not become *ðan* until the later period of OE., and we have *siððan* in the earliest texts. Indeed I have found but one instance of *siððam* in all OE., and that in a text the language of which is late: *Sol.* 45. 10.... The fact that we never, or very rarely, find the relative [*ðe*] with *sið-ðan*, whereas we regularly have it with *æfter ðon* or *ær ðon*, lends support to the view that the conjunction arose from a phrase of comparison.' This chapter is naturally the most useful, and justly occupies seven-eighths of the whole volume.

Chapter II discusses 'The Mode in the Temporal Clause' in each of the six types mentioned above. Here the author proves that the indicative is the prevailing mode in the temporal clause, save in the *ær*-type—those which determine the time of an action by reference to a subsequent action. Furthermore, he shows that the so-called modal auxiliaries, *mugan*, *sculan*, *motan*, and *willan*, retain their full verbal content, and are not used as a mere paraphrase for the optative. *Sculan* and *willan* alone show a tendency to become tense-auxiliaries.

Chapter III, which closes the study, is entitled 'Position of the Clause and Word Order,' though under it are embraced 'Sequence of Tenses' and 'Negative.' The whole occupies hardly more than a page; its brevity and its dearth of results seem to argue its inadequacy—though it is perhaps unwarranted in another than the author, *ipse expertus*, to say so. However, one interesting, if not surprising, fact is proved: *oð* (*ðæt*) clauses always follow their main clause.

Appendix I gives in sixty-seven pages a valuable analytic index-list of all temporal clauses; Appendix II enumerates all clauses containing modal auxiliaries; Appendix III is a brief bibliography; Appendix IV is an index of clauses quoted or referred to in the text—a helpful feature worthy of imitation in all books of this kind; as is also Appendix V, an alphabetical 'Index of Connectives'—over two hundred of them—with page-references to the body of the work. Six carefully compiled and clearly printed statistical tables complete the volume.

In all, the monograph is a clear, complete, and vigorous handling of a field worthy of study. Its conclusions are definite, yet always sane; its data are of great practical value to the student of the lexical, syntactical, or synonymic phenomena of the period.

For adverse criticism there is little warrant in the book. What I offer in the following paragraphs may seem open to the charge of cavilling. However, I find myself wishing that in the section-headings under the first chapter the author had indicated just what portions of the 'split connectives,' *e.g.*, *sona ... syððan*, *swa ... oftost*, etc., occur within the temporal clause, and what portions, if any, occur within the main clause. A comma separating the subordinate connective proper from its balancing element in the main clause—as used in the index-lists on page 192, for example—would have easily served this end. Usually a glance will determine the function of each part of the connective, but occasionally a vexing inconsistency arises; as may be seen by comparing, for example, *siððan ... raðe*, on page 77—both parts of which occur within the temporal clause—with *siððan ... siððan*, on page 104—one part of which occurs within the subordinate clause, and the other part within the main clause.

The following omissions of passages more or less in point I have observed, in comparing the book with some casual notes of my own. On page 17, under *ða ða*, one perhaps has a right to expect, among the other peculiar forms of 'balance,' *ða*, *ða ða* ..., *ða*, of *Lives of Saints*, 2. 248. 471 : 'and se hæđena *ða ða ða* he hine slean wolde *ða* feoll he underbæc.' Also noteworthy is *ða ða* ..., *ðe* of *Lives of Saints*, 2. 372. 275: '*ða ða* maximus sæde swa sođlice đas word weopendum eagum *ðe* gewendon đa hæđenan manega to geleafan fram heora leasum godum.'

On page 28, to the ten *ðe*-clauses cited as temporal I am inclined to add *Wulf.*, 154. 14: 'and æfter đære bysne, đe god sylf on Adame astealde, *ðe* he hine for his halignesse and for his godnesse on fruman in paradyso gelogode, æfter đære bysene we lađjađ and logjađ cristene men into godes huse.' Tending to prove this clause temporal rather than appositional is line 25 : 'be đære bysene đe god on Adame astealde, *ða ða* he hine nydde ut of paradiso, be đære bysne we eac nydađ ut đa forsyngodan of godes cyrican.'

On page 33, in support of the *ða* in the MS. T reading for *Bede*, 168. 2, 'đa gelomp in seolfan tid, *ða* mon đone cyning fulwade, đæt đær wæs'—which Dr Adams is inclined to reject in favour of the *ðe* of MSS. B and C^{a}—might well have been cited *Mart.* 2. 10 : 'on đam geare *ða* he wæs acenned đa æteawdon swylc tacn swylce mannum ær næron ne næfre siđđan.'

On page 61, to the unique example of *nu* temporal add *Blick. Hom.*, 39. 1: 'đonne is nu to geđencenne on đas halgan tid, *nu* we urne lichoman clænsiađ mid fæstenum and mid gebedum, đæt we eac ure mod geclænsian'; and perhaps *Wulf.* 185. 3 : 'and đa ungesæligan yrmingas nellađ *nu* đæt geđencan ne his willan be sumon dæle wyrcan, *nu* hig eađe magon.'

On page 81, to the five cited examples of *sona ða* add *Mart.* 2. 4: 'ond *sona ða* he acenned wæs, heofonlic leoht scean ofer eall đæt land.' And to the three instances of the periphrastic '*næs ða nænig hwil to ðan sona swa*,' should be subjoined *Blick. Hom.*, 87. 16 : '*næs ða nænig ylding toðon ða* đeos ben wæs gehyred, *ða sona* seo unarimede menigo haligra saula mid Drihtnes hæse wæron of đæm cwicsusle ahafena (sic).'

On page 128, under the discussion of various peculiarities of the *oð ðæt* clause, *Bede*, 474. 17, *oð ðæt* ..., *oð ðæt*, should not have been overlooked: 'ond he blissade in đon đæt he *oð ðæt* in lichoman gehealden wæs, *oð ðæt* he geseah đa his geherend đone Eastordæg onfon.' In fact, the author would have added much to the completeness of his book by a careful consideration throughout of the 'balancing' adverbial element, which he mentions, by the way, on page 15.

On page 221, the omission of *Chron.* 48. 4 from the index-list of *oð ðæt* clauses is the only error that I have chanced upon in this laborious yet essential portion of the volume. The proof-reading is everywhere excellent: I find the list of *errata* commendably short, having noticed but the following: page ix, *suggestion* for *suggestions*;

page 20, *fortsolenne* for *forstolenne*; page 29, *deobla* for *deofla*; page 45, *occur sonly* for *occurs only*; page 67, *sono* for *sona*; page 77. 9b, the first *siððan* italicized instead of the second; page 107, *tough* for *though*; page 122, *gefætnode* for *gefæstnode*; page 148, *reson* for *reason*; page 156, *denothes* for *denotes*, and *mere substitutes* for *a mere substitute.* The book is a model of neatness and perspicuity—rare virtues both in works on syntax. I am acquainted with no other monograph so ‘comfortable’ either for reading or for quick and accurate reference.

Hubert G. Shearin.

Early English Lyrics: Amorous, Divine, Moral and Trivial. Chosen by E. K. Chambers and F. Sidgwick. London: A. H. Bullen, 1907. 8vo. x + 384 pp.

The value of this book is incalculable; it includes the best of a number of separate collections, which were not easily accessible; poems of the great Harleian MS. 2253, songs and carols edited by Wright for the Percy Society and the Warton Club, and, freshest of all, the lyrics of the Balliol MS. printed by Flügel in *Anglia*, XXIV; with many other things, full of the most delightful and varied music. Many of the poems are well known, but they have never before been brought together in such numbers nor in so pleasant a form.

It is useless to attempt a choice among them, but LXXXI: ‘The faucon hath borne my make away’ is now in effect made known for the first time; one of the incredibly beautiful things of the English ballad style. A ballad of another sort, *The Jolly Juggler* (CL), had already been brought out by Mr Sidgwick in his selection of *Popular Ballads*, also published by Mr Bullen, but it is still comparatively little known, and may be mentioned here for that reason; a capital specimen of an old comic story, in excellent lyric rhyme.

Mr E. K. Chambers' essay has the same qualities as his book on the *Medieval Stage*, and especially the right skill in selecting examples. His subject is one of the most difficult, but though he professes to deal only with ‘some aspects of medieval lyric,’ it will be found that he has surveyed most of the field. He has read Jeanroy and Gaston Paris on old French lyrical poetry; he has also read the French poems themselves, and others, and has worked out a very clear description of the difference between ‘folk-song’ and the courtly lyric of the trouvères with (what is most important) a description of the intermediate sort of poetry, half primitive, half courtly, to which the carols and ballads belong. The ‘folk’ of ‘folk-song’ and ‘folk-lore’ is rather apt to become an abstract and fixed idea; Mr Chambers guards against this, and shows that there is no absolute separation of ranks in medieval poetry, though there are the two extremes, the ‘folk,’ on the one hand, the sophisticated literary artist, on the other. The English lyrics of the middle ages are popular in the same sense as the Elizabethan drama; ages of literary tradition and artifice contribute to the beauty of their popular verse.

W. P. Ker.

English Miracle Plays and Moralities. By E. HAMILTON MOORE. London and Manchester: Sherratt and Hughes, 1907. 8vo. pp. 199.

'The book is intended mainly for those who have neither time nor inclination for private research, and is thus rather popular than scholastic, in view of which fact, the majority of extracted passages have been modernised in spelling and occasionally in phrase. At the same time, for the benefit of those who wish to further investigate the subject, a short list of the best authorities on English Mysteries and Moralities, will be found appended at the end of the volume.'

These sentences from the 'foreword,' with their doubtful style and punctuation, perhaps sufficiently characterize the work. Something might certainly be said for normalizing the rather erratic language of the early drama, but we wish the author had kept his fingers off Chaucer. The essentially popular nature of the book is seen most clearly from the eccentric 'Students' List' appended, which recommends among other things the inaccurate and modernized reprints of the so-called Early English Drama Society and the exceedingly bad translation of ten Brink's *History of English Literature* in Bohn's Library. The Early English Text Society, by the way, has only issued the first half of the Chester Plays, so that the Shakespeare Society edition is not yet superseded. We have noticed quite a number of curiosities in the text. There is the obsolete and illegitimate distinction drawn between Miracles and Mysteries (p. 13), and the equally obsolete treatment of the *débat* called the *Harrowing of Hell* as 'The first English Mystery Play' (p. 23). The MS. of the Coventry Guild Plays is said to have perished in the fire at Birmingham (p. 40), whereas it is extant and has recently been re-edited. The Vice is said to be a degenerate Devil (p. 58), which suggests that Mr Moore has not consulted the more recent of the 'Authorities' he enumerates, and is further made the father of the Harlequin, who certainly belongs to Italian tradition. Finally, we may point out that the last two lines of p. 95 properly belong to the middle of p. 121, and that a footnote has crept into the middle of p. 101. The author's intention to write a popular account of the religious drama is a laudable one, but we cannot help thinking that its popularity would not have suffered from its being carried out in a somewhat more scholarly (we will not say 'scholastic') manner, and printed with a little more ordinary care.

W. W. GREG.

All Fooles and the Gentleman Usher. By GEORGE CHAPMAN. Edited by T. M. PARROTT (*Belles Lettres Series,* Sect. III). Boston: Heath and Co.; London: G. G. Harrap, 1907. 8vo. xlviii + 308 pp.

While scholars have spent well-directed labour upon the text of Marlowe, Webster, Beaumont and Fletcher, Massinger and Ford, the plays of the noblest soul and most original thinker among the dramatists of that age have suffered comparative neglect. There is no edition of Chapman's works worthy of the name. With Professor Boas's *Bussy D'Ambois* and *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois*, Dr Lehman's *Chabot*, and the book now to be noticed, there comes promise of better days.

Professor Parrott is well-equipped for his task. Throughout this edition of Chapman's two finest comedies there is abundant evidence of deep study and true appreciation of the author. At the very beginning of the book, for instance, the 'Biography' achieves its professed purpose of giving a more connected view of Chapman's work than is usually afforded. In fact this brief chronicle is full of suggestive criticism, and wherever Professor Parrott expresses disagreement with his predecessors he does so only when he feels sure of his ground. There is an absence of haste, a convincing tone of deliberation, in all his judgments. He does not believe that Chapman withdrew from the stage about the end of the sixteenth century to devote himself to his translation of Homer, though he admits that he severed his connection with Henslowe. 'It is more likely,' he says, 'that...Chapman simply transferred his services as playwright from Henslowe's company to the Chapel Boys, who were playing at the private theatre in Blackfriars from 1598 to 1603.' He shares the growing disbelief in Chapman's authorship of *Alphonsus*, but, on the other hand, he believes, on evidence which he has set forth at large in *Modern Philology* for July 1906, that *Sir Giles Goosecappe* is mainly, if not entirely, by that dramatist. He can see Shirley's revising hand in *Chabot* and can trace Chapman's manner in the last act of *The Ball*. *Revenge for Honour* is dismissed from the canon by a footnote.

In his 'Introduction' the editor not only deals critically with the two reprinted plays, but skilfully traces the development of Chapman's art as a comic dramatist, and proceeds to evolve his theory of comedy as compared with that of contemporary writers. The result of the latter attempt is not entirely satisfactory. Professor Parrott rightly accuses Chapman of defective construction and a devotion to type in characterization, though even here his judgment is modified by remarkable exceptions; but when he tells us that Chapman's comic excellence lies in action, and yet comments upon a notable absence of action in one of his most admirable comedies, *Monsieur D'Olive*, as well as in the less important *Sir Giles Goosecappe*, one is left moralizing on the danger of generalizations. It is only fair to add that he finds reason for believing that Chapman himself was dissatisfied with *Sir Giles Goosecappe* and offers a likely conjecture to account for the emptiness of action in the comic scenes of *Monsieur D'Olive*. The 'Introduction' concludes with a diffident but suggestive remark on the possible influence of Chapman upon Fletcher's romantic comedies.

The 'Notes' for the most part fulfil their functions satisfactorily by showing Chapman's occasional borrowings, explaining obscure allusions and elucidating difficult passages. Of course there is room for differences of opinion, and a few of the explanations appear to me less than satisfactory. For example, when Valerio complains, *A. F.*, II, i, 53, that he receives begging messages from

such gallants
As I protest I saw but through a grate,

he does not mean merely that he has seen them from a door, or at a distance, but that he has caught sight of them peering into the street through the well-known grating of the Counter. Then, the explanation of *A. F.*, IV, i, 86—92 is as obscure as the text it professes to elucidate, and Collier was probably right when he proposed the substitution of 'crater' for 'creator'—

as many drops of blood
Issuing from the crater of my hart,...

A. F., IV, i, 410:

And yee shall see, if like two partes in me
I leave not both these gullers wits imbrierd;...

is certainly a crux, and the editor is not incautious in suspecting corruption. Am I too desperate in suggesting 'two faste in ice'? Turning now to *The Gentleman Usher*, one cannot but feel that the note on I, ii, 95 is incomplete. Strozza compares the Duke to 'the English signe of great Saint George.' By 'signe' of course he means symbol, but there is also a reference to a common type of sign-board, or perhaps to some London sign-board of particular notoriety. The jest is emphasised by Strozza's subsequent words (146), 'I hope Saint Georges signe was grosse enough.' In *G. U.*, V, i Professor Parrott, apparently, has found evidence of Bassiolo's recourse to liquor only in his pronunciation of 'Gosh hat' (26) and 'shay' (32); but his language and conduct throughout the scene are eloquent of intoxication until he is suddenly sobered by the unexpected approach of the Duke. Most admirers of Chapman will be surprised to find the claims of Margaret and Strozza to the right of individual action regarded as results of Chapman's love of paradox (note on *G. U.*, V, ii, 36) rather than as inevitable illustrations of his nobly independent attitude towards the outer world, his knowledge that the virtuous man can accept no lawgiver but his own soul. Bussy and Byron arrogate to themselves similar rights, but they are not 'virtuous.' Love triumphs in the person of Margaret, whereas the failure of a loveless self-sufficiency is shewn in the crashing falls of the arrogant favourite and the domineering upstart.

Professor Parrott's 'Bibliography' is fuller than the case actually demands, since it records a number of works which do not deal directly with *All Fooles* or *The Gentleman Usher*. However, recognising the comprehensive principle of compilation, one may regret the exclusion of Lowell's *Old English Dramatists*, Mr Deighton's disappointing but not negligible *The Old Dramatists: Conjectural Readings*, Professor Williams' *Specimens of the Elizabethan Drama*, Dr Carpenter's *Metaphor and Simile in the Minor Elizabethan Drama*, Dr Lehman's edition of *Chabot* (which may have appeared after the bibliography was in type?), and perhaps a few other works. The annotation of the bibliography is invaluable.

The 'Glossary' is fairly long, and yet a few forms have been omitted for which an editor of less scholarly attainments might justly have found place. 'Nodle' (*A. F.*, IV, i, 274) is unfamiliar, and 'conduct-am' (II, i, 140) is strange; 'coines' (*G. U.*, II, i, 4) might not readily be recognised as 'coyness,' and the exclamation 'slood' or 'slud,' which occurs at least five times in *The Gentleman Usher*, is at least curious. When a word admitted to the glossary occurs more than once in the text, a reference should be given to each example. Thus Professor Parrott notes that 'mankinde' (= 'fierce') occurs in *A. F.*, IV, i, 236, but does not tell us that it is also to be found in *G. U.*, IV, i, 49. So, too, we should be told that 'president' (= 'precedent') appears in *G. U.*, V, ii, 9. 'Huddles,' again, should have two references. Occasionally one hesitates at the editor's definitions (are 'smock-faces' effeminate faces or simply handsome faces? And should we not be told that 'smock' is a variant of 'smug'?)—and now and then one feels that an explanation is incomplete (is 'marked' a sufficient synonym for 'basted'?); but on the whole it is impossible not to feel that a great deal has been put into a small compass.

Professor Parrott has spared no pains to present an accurate text, and it is not likely that many errors will be found in it. He has been fortunate, too, in obtaining assistance from several scholars whose names are prominent in the annals of textual criticism. Many of the emendations are extremely happy. Others, again, are hardly necessary. In *A. F.*, II, i, 198 and 201 the verb is altered from present to past, though there is dramatic excuse for the original reading, and the editor notes that 'Chapman himself may have been responsible for the loose construction.' In *A. F.*, II, i, 406—407, a speech:

Foote, will you heare
The worst voyce in Italy?

is transferred from Dariotto to Valerio, though it harmonizes with Dariotto's later expression of opinion, II, i, 412—413. In each case Dariotto's premature frankness is checked by Cornelio. In V, ii, 73 Dariotto receives honourable amends by having assigned to him a line which has hitherto belonged to Claudio:

Health to Gazetta, poyson to her husband!

Possibly Claudio is merely proposing the terms of the toast which Dariotto is to drink. In *A. F.*, V, ii, 345 and 346 Professor Parrott adopts an extraordinary emendation suggested by the *New English Dictionary*. For the 'irreuitable' of the Qq he reads 'irrenitable.' But the word 'irrenitable' occurs nowhere else, and 'ineuitable' would fit the sense quite as well. In *G. U.*, I, i, 261—264 there is an ironical passage of arms by which both Medice and Professor Parrott are deceived.

Stro. I pray stand by, my Lord; y'are troublesome.
Vin. To none but you; am I to you, my lord?
Med. Not unto mee.
Vin. Why, then, you wrong me, Strozza.
Med. Nay, fall not out, my lords.

To render this passage intelligible Professor Parrott assigns Medice's speeches to Vincentio and Vincentio's to Medice, and gives a long note to explain the situation he has thus created. It seems to me that Vincentio and Strozza jostle in pretended competition for the best view of Medice in his gorgeous raiment, and feign to quarrel. Medice is flattered, and patronizingly acts the peacemaker. A choice has to be made between two stage-directions in *G. U.*, II, i. Surely Strozza is present from the beginning of the scene, though he is 'close' or concealed. The direction *Enter Strozza* after line 27 looks like an interpolation by somebody who saw Strozza's speech just below and had not noticed the previous mention of his name. In *G. U.*, III, ii, 242:

> a good legge still, still a good calfe, and not slabby now hanging, I warrant you ;...

the reading 'flabby' is taken from Pearson's Reprint. But apparently in Yorkshire 'slabby' means 'slight in construction; thin, unsubstantial' (*English Dialect Dictionary*, vol. V), and the term may have been current slang when the play was composed. Other emendations which, though not demonstrably wrong, may be discarded as unnecessary are those of *A. F.*, II, i, 420, III, i, 350, V, i, 71, and *G. U.*, I, i, 177, II, i, 44, III, ii, 266—267 and IV, iii, 72. In *A. F.*, I, i, 185:

> But her unnurishing dowry must be tolde
> Out of her beauty,

it is perhaps as well to accept the reading of the majority of the quartos, but it should be pointed out that 'unusering' (*i.e.*, 'unusuring, accumulating no interest') is not impossible.

For 'shew,' in *A. F.*, II, i, 288:

> I have a shew of courtyers haunt my house,
> In shew my friends, and for my profit too ;...

Professor Parrott suggests 'crew.' But 'shew' has probably been caught from the following line, and most likely we should read 'sort,' as in line 307, 'a sort of corporals.' In *A. F.* V, ii, 2, 'wasecotes' should almost certainly be 'wastcotes.' We have 'wastcote' in line 17, and the confusion of e and t is a common printer's blunder.

Professor Parrott has one editorial failing, which is at once amiable and exasperating. He has an inordinate craving for minutely explicit stage directions. He expands the old directions, and is liberal in the invention of new. He states the obvious at great length, and leaves nothing to be surmised by common sense. Even when a scene, in which only two persons participate, closes with an *Exeunt*, he must needs add the names of the two who are to leave the stage. Similarly we are told that '*Vincentio overheares* [*them*],' and an act ends with the superfluously complete direction '*Exeunt* [*omnes*].' No doubt he can suggest a further emendation of '*Exit* [*Sarpego, Nymph, Sylvan and the two Bugs*]' in *G. U.*, II, i, 299.

In accordance with the precedent set by previous editors in the series, an attempt has been made to define the location of each scene.

Professor Parrott fully recognises the difficulty of settling points which his author sometimes neglected to settle for himself. As a rule, the scene before the mind's eye of the playwright was the bare platform of the theatre, and the attempt of editors to set limits which were seldom recognised by Elizabethan dramatists is inspired by the conventions of a theatre where canvas and paint and a receding stage confine the vagrant imagination. A certain scene in Heywood's *Rape of Lucrece* represents, by degrees, Rome and the Camp and all the country between. If, as Professor Parrott indicates, Act IV, scene i of *All Fooles* is *A Street in Florence before the House of Gostanzo*, one can only wonder at that passion for the simple life which leads a lawyer and his client to execute the business of a divorce in so public a place.

Professor Parrott's addition to the admirable *Belles Lettres Series* is as good as any of its predecessors, and that is saying a great deal. To the publishers one may hint that a limited edition of the series on a page of twice the present size would be acceptable.

J. LE GAY BRERETON.

Types of Tragic Drama. By C. E. VAUGHAN. London: Macmillan and Co., 1908. 8vo. viii + 275 pp.

What Professor Vaughan is most to be envied for in this series of lectures on Tragedy, delivered before a popular audience in the University of Leeds, is the freshness and independence of his method of approach. He has succeeded in throwing off in great measure the burden of traditional opinion and in setting forth a standpoint which is, in the best sense, individual and original. To be able to face the old, well-worn problems of the function of tragedy, of 'classic' law and 'romantic' lawlessness, or the respective merits of the great dramatists of the past, and treat them as if the vast body of French, Italian, German and English critics had never sifted and reasoned and sat in judgment, is a faculty which deserves all respect in these days when historical tradition lies heavier than ever on our criticism. It is comparatively easy to arrive at results which command attention, by accumulating the judgments of the past, summarising them and adding one's own small quota; but it is difficult to set purposely aside what others have thought, and to attempt to build up anew from the beginning. Professor Vaughan has chosen the harder task. And he is to be congratulated on coming out of the ordeal he has imposed upon himself so well. That he invariably succeeds in carrying conviction, or that his own judgment is always strong enough to stand alone against the verdict of tradition, he would himself be the last to claim; but he has not seen the literature which he passes in review through other people's spectacles, and that is a very precious quality.

In his treatment of the Greek drama, he appears to have made greater concessions to the traditional point of view, or rather to current opinion, than in the case of most of the 'moderns'; but this was perhaps inevitable. Whether it is altogether wise to bring the Greek dramatists before a modern tribunal, to compare their works with Shakespeare and Ibsen, and judge them by modern notions and standards, is open to very serious question. The temptation to employ such comparative criticism is, of course, greatest in discussing Euripides, and it has surely, in his case, been overdone to the detriment of right thinking. Words like 'realism,' 'naturalism,' 'romanticism,' applied to Greek tragedy, only lead to misunderstandings—Professor Vaughan's own conception of the character of Euripides' Medea (pp. 69 f.) seems to me a case in point—and obscure the processes of literary evolution. But the lecturer's justification in the present case is obviously the fact that he had a popular audience before him.

Professor Vaughan's familiarity with the modern literatures from which he selects his types, or at least with the spirit of these literatures, is not always sufficient to allow him to run counter to established opinion with impunity; his remarks too often take on the semblance of paradox—an impression which is accentuated by a somewhat liberal use of superlatives. His unmeasured encomium of Alfieri, for instance, would hardly be endorsed by the best modern Italian criticism, and I can imagine the ordinary cultured German of to-day rubbing his eyes when he reads Professor Vaughan's opinions of Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* (p. 7) and Schiller (pp. 202 ff.). But his standpoint is frankly that of the critic whose basis is English literature; assuredly his hearers would not have thanked him had he only served up to them the opinion of Italians about Alfieri, of Spaniards about Calderón, or of Germans about Schiller. Exception to this statement might be taken in the case of Racine, who is treated from a point of view which deviates less from French opinion than one might have expected from a critic representing the English outlook on poetry. At the same time, it is doubtful whether finality is to be hoped for from a criticism that sets aside the views of foreign critics about their own poets; it is still more doubtful whether a critic is at liberty to ignore, as Professor Vaughan is inclined to do, the standards and criteria whereby the continental literatures are themselves measured. To take only one case, which has worked extraordinary havoc in English criticism of foreign poetry, the use of the catchwords 'classic' and 'romantic.' This point is the more serious here, as it is made a kind of pivot round which the main thesis of Professor Vaughan's lectures turns. He accepts the English conception of these words, a conception which has been arrived at by the historical conditions of English literature, and which defines—a little vaguely, it is true—certain contrasting phenomena in English poetry; but he proceeds to apply this English conception without modification or explanation to the French and German drama, forgetting that the word 'romanticism' connotes quite different things in continental literatures. 'Romantic Revolt,' a phrase which Professor Vaughan uses, I think, more than once, expresses an exclusively English idea; if it conveys any meaning to a German at all, it will be associated by him with the year 1798, while the Frenchman

will think at once of 1827. The result is a confusion which would make it difficult to render these lectures comprehensible to continental readers without at least preceding them by a careful explanation of the particular use of the word ‘romantic’ in England.

These, however, are defects—if they are defects, and not merely differences of opinion between critic and criticised—which are inseparably bound up with Professor Vaughan's method and point of view; they are of small account compared with the qualities which I emphasised at the outset, freshness and originality. His volume is suggestive and delightful reading; it retains the charm of actual lectures, and yet avoids the disadvantages that so often arise when a book is put together out of matter originally intended for oral delivery.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

François Rabelais. By ARTHUR TILLEY (*French Men of Letters.* Edited by A. JESSUP). New York and London; J. B. Lippincott Co., 1907. 8vo. 388 pp.

A la fin de l'été 1902, un certain nombre d'auditeurs français et étrangers, qui commentaient l'œuvre de Rabelais à l'École pratique des Hautes Études de la Sorbonne sous la direction du professeur Lefranc, eurent l'idée de se grouper pour continuer les recherches commencées et étendre leur champ d'investigation. La Société des Études Rabelaisiennes se trouva fondée, et, comme le nom de Rabelais est un des cinq ou six génies dont l'universalité écarte toute idée de rivalités nationales, elle rencontra dès sa naissance de précieux appuis près des érudits des deux mondes. Aujourd'hui, après cinq ans d'efforts, le livre de M. Tilley lui permet pour la première fois de mesurer le chemin parcouru, et, tout en énumérant ses conquêtes, de voir ce qui lui reste à découvrir dans la vie mystérieuse et agitée du grand Tourangeau. C'est un remarquable exposé des connaissances acquises, conçu dans un louable esprit de méthode, et rédigé dans une langue dont on ne saurait trop apprécier la clarté.

Mais ce n'est pas assez de féliciter M. Tilley de nous avoir donné une élégante et très complète mise au point de la question Rabelaisienne, telle qu'elle était à la fin de 1907. Il faut lui savoir gré d'y avoir ajouté le fruit de ses recherches personnelles, et l'appui de conjectures, parfois osées mais toujours ingénieuses, qui suggéreront certainement de nouveaux rapprochements et amèneront plus d'une découverte.

Le fait vient déjà de se produire pour une des plus utiles hypothèses du livre, le séjour de Rabelais à Paris de 1528 à 1530. Personne ne l'ignore, la jeunesse de maître François, jusqu'à l'immatriculation à Montpellier, est singulièrement obscure. A part les renseignements sur son ‘moniage’ à Fontenay le Comte, extraits des lettres et des préfaces de Budé, Amy, Tiraqueau et Bouchard, autant dire que nous ne savons rien. Je crois avoir démontré,—mais M. Tilley ne pouvait en 1907 avoir connaissance d'un article paru en mars 1908,—que l'on ne peut plus faire état de la prétendue signature de 1519 mise au jour par Benjamin Fillon sur un acte d'achat des Cordeliers. J'ajouterai que le départ de Rabelais du couvent de Fontenay, sous le coup des persécutions relatées dans la lettre de Budé du 27 janvier, 1524, ne me parait pas très prouvé. L'illustre érudit félicite au contraire son jeune correspondant d'avoir retrouvé ses livres et le calme de ses chères études. Il a fort bien pu rester chez ses Cordeliers un an, deux ans encore—ne serait ce que pour attendre la délivrance de l'indult papal l'autorisant à changer d'ordre—et cela aiderait naturellement à combler les six années qui séparent la lettre de Budé de l'inscription à Montpellier.

Après son entrée dans la congrégation de St Benoit, il est probable que Rabelais fut plus attaché à la personne de l'évêque Geoffroy d'Estissac qu'à l'abbaye où il avait pris l'habit, et qu'il séjourna plus volontiers à Fontaine le Comte, près d'Antoine Ardillon, à l'Hermenault ou à Ligugé, qu'à Maillezais. C'est de cette époque heureuse et exempte de soucis dans les Thélèmes poitevines que datent sans doute les premières études de médecine de Rabelais à l'Université de Poitiers. Vers 1528 ou 1529, selon M. Tilley, il serait venu habiter Paris pour accomplir ses trois années scolaires de lectures, 'à l'ordinaire,' indispensables pour prendre le degré de bachelier. Si, dès son arrivée à Montpellier, il obtint le grade envié, c'est qu'il avait satisfait au règlement dans la seule Université de France dont la Faculté de Montpellier reconnut l'enseignement, c'est à dire à Paris.

Or, ce séjour dans la capitale, logique, probable, nécessaire même pour expliquer les innombrables allusions du Second livre, vient de recevoir une curieuse confirmation dans une remarque du professeur Lefranc, à son cours du Collège de France, sur l'hôtel ou collège Saint Denis, demeure de Pantagruel : 'De faict, arrivé à Paris [l'anglois Thaumaste] se transporta vers l'hostel dudict Pantagruel qui estoit logé à l'hostel Sainct Denis' (liv. II, ch. 18). C'était une maison qui servait depuis le XIII^e^ siècle de résidence aux abbés de St Denis, au coin de la rue des Grands Augustins et de la rue Saint André des Arts. Elle recevait en même temps des novices de l'ordre de St Benoit qui venaient poursuivre leurs études à Paris. Par une coincidence remarquable les abbés de Saint Denis étaient avant 1505 Antoine de la Haye, évêque de Maillezais, puis Pierre Gouffier, abbé de Saint Maixent, et son frère Aimery Gouffier, mort en octobre 1528. Rabelais, bénedictin et moine de Maillezais, devait donc trouver au collège de Saint Denis une hospitalité toute indiquée, et M. Lefranc en a conclu très justement que s'il a choisi cette demeure pour y loger son héros, c'est qu'un souvenir personnel lui rappelait la maison et le jardin où Pantagruel 'se pourmenoit avec Panurge philosophant à la mode des Peripateticques.'

Toutes les conjectures de M. Tilley n'ont pas, comme de juste, autant de bonheur. Mais rien n'est plus ingénieux que ses déductions pour fixer l'époque précise de la rédaction de *Pantagruel* et de *Gargantua*, quoiqu'il ait tiré, à mon sens, un argument trop important pour fixer l'achèvement du premier livre avant février 1534 de l'absence de toute mention du premier voyage à Rome. Des quatre séjours en Italie, qui rayonnèrent d'un si vif éclat sur sa carrière, rien ou presque rien, ne se reflète dans l'œuvre de Rabelais. La *Sciomachie*, ennuyeuse comme un procès verbal, des lettres si sèches que M. Tilley, bien gratuitement selon moi, les suppose remaniées, des brèves mentions de la Colonne Trajane, de l'Arc de Septime Sévère et des obélisques : voilà le bilan de ce qu'a inspiré au grand écrivain la ville éternelle ! On avouera que s'il eût vu Rome avant 1534, il aurait pu ne pas en parler davantage dans *Gargantua*.

Faut-il donc en conclure, avec M. Tilley, que l'imagination de Rabelais n'était pas très sensible aux impressions du monde extérieur, que l'écrivain, comme nous le dirions aujourd'hui, n'était pas un 'visuel' ? À mon avis, c'est se montrer sévère. Un style tout en images, en comparaisons, en métaphores, toujours justes, toujours pittoresques, toujours colorées, suppose au contraire une rare faculté d'évocation, un véritable amour des 'choses vues.' Mais Rabelais, tout en poussant jusqu'à la minutie le scrupule de la vérité dans sa mise en scène, y cherche avant tout la vie en mouvement, l'action sous toutes ses formes. Il ne décrit pas pour le plaisir de décrire, il ne peint pas pour le plaisir de peindre, et —le mot dût-il paraître un peu gros—il ne fait pas preuve de goûts et de connaissances artistiques bien profondes. Consolons nous en pensant, avec M. Tilley, qu'il possédait au plus haut point le sens musical, bien qu'un catalogue de musiciens, dans le prologue du livre IV ne soit pas une preuve très concluante !

Il a bien fallu que M. Tilley abordât le problème de l'authenticité du cinquième livre. Il l'a fait avec toute la sagacité qu'il avait déjà apportée à la discussion dans deux articles parus dans cette revue. La question étant loin d'être résolue, il est inutile d'entrer dans le détail du débat. Cependant, on peut se demander si M. Tilley ne fait pas trop bon marché des arguments tirés du style ? Il me semble qu'après avoir fait très justement ressortir à quel point Rabelais a poussé l'art de donner à chacun de ses héros le langage que leur convient, sans jamais se démentir, il aurait pu constater qu'il ne reste rien de cette admirable entente du dialogue au cinquième livre. Évidemment, tant que la preuve décisive pour ou contre l'authenticité n'aura pas vu le jour, on pourra, comme M. Tilley, ne voir là que des raisons 'subjectives.' Mais si Rabelais eût rédigé l'œuvre posthume qu'on lui attribue, n'y retrouverait on pas cette qualité maîtresse et bien d'autres que M. Tilley a eu raison de mettre en lumière: la prodigieuse richesse du vocabulaire, la fantaisie exubérante, la griserie au son des mots et à l'harmonie de la période ?

J'aime beaucoup l'habilité avec laquelle M. Tilley a rapproché des faits de l'histoire générale les principaux évènements de la vie de Rabelais. Les biographes ont trop souvent perdu de vue cette corrélation indispensable entre l'écrivain et son temps. Je crois cependant qu'il ne faudrait pas rattacher aux fluctuations de la politique religieuse les moindres détails de la carrière de maître François. Certes, Rabelais a fait preuve toute sa vie d'une circonspection que l'exil de Marot, le bûcher de Dolet et bien d'autres raisons suffiraient à justifier. On conçoit qu'il dût songer plus d'une fois à mettre la frontière entre lui et la Sorbonne. Mais courut-il vraiment tant de dangers? Beaucoup connaissaient l'humaniste et le savant: bien peu l'auteur de *Gargantua* et de *Pantagruel*. Ceux qui savaient que maître Alcofribas Nasier et le médecin des du Bellay ne faisaient qu'un, voyaient dans son livre un amusement d'honnêtes gens, un divertissement d'après souper. Le bon Rabelais n'était dangereux pour personne. A peine trouvait on parfois qu'il parlait, et surtout qu'il écrivait trop.

La biographie et l'étude des cinq livres tiennent plus des deux tiers de l'étude de M. Tilley. Mais l'auteur n'a pas voulu s'en tenir à l'analyse de l'œuvre. En deux chapitres: l'Art et le Philosophie de Rabelais, il nous a donné un jugement qui prendra place à côté de ceux de Brunetière, de Faguet, de Gebhart et de Stapfer. J'y relève une utile remarque contre la recherche abusive des sources et des emprunts à laquelle se livrent certains critiques trop minutieux. La moindre ressemblance, la plus petite analogie, devient sous leur plume un plagiat. C'est exagéré. L'œuvre de Rabelais contient assez d'emprunts indéniables et non déguisés, pour qu'il soit inutile d'en allonger complaisamment la liste.

Louons également M. Tilley d'avoir renoncé à l'interprétation absconse et symbolique telle que la comprenaient les commentateurs du XVIII^e et du XIX^e siècle. J'avoue que j'aurais voulu le voir aller plus loin dans cette voie. La jeune reine Niphleseth ne me fait nullement songer à Marie Stuart, et en dépit de l'autorité de du Pavillon, j'ai peine à identifier frère Jean des Entommeures avec Buinard, prieur de Servaise. Toutes ces interprétations, l'expérience le prouve, tombent une à une pour faire place à des éléments réels. Jamet Brayer, par exemple, où l'on croyait voir Jacques Cartier, devient un parent de Rabelais, paisible marinier de la Loire que maître François trouve plaisant d'embarquer dans un périple autour du monde! N'est pas une belle leçon de prudence, et ne vaut-il pas mieux s'abstenir que de risquer des rapprochements aussi sujets à caution?

Je suis heureux de ne pas retrouver dans la figure du grand écrivain, que nous trace M. Tilley le Solon contrefaisant l'ivresse pour en dégouter ses concitoyens, le Brutus feignant la folie pour enseigner des vérités dangereuses, aussi faux, à mon point de vue, que l'ivrogne et le bouffon de la Pléiade. Le rire de Rabelais n'est pas un masque. C'est sa nature même. Son génie est fait de belle humeur. Mais j'aurais aimé voir M. Tilley prendre plus crânement son parti des grasses plaisanteries semées à pleines mains dans les cinq livres et ne pas chercher à l'excuser d'avoir donné libre cours à sa jovialité débordante. Il ne s'agit là ni d'un complaisant étalage de connaissances médicales, ni d'un artifice littéraire, ni d'un sacrifice au goût du jour pour aider à la vente du roman. Disons le sans rougir. Si Rabelais a étalé en dix ou douze chapitres et semé un peu partout dans son œuvre une telle avalanche de mots de gueule et d'obscénités bouffonnes, c'est que c'était là, comme le rire, un des côtés de son caractère. L'art n'atteint pas à un tel accent de sincérité. Comme les moines, avec qui il a vécu une moitié de sa vie, comme les médecins, avec qui il a passé l'autre moitié, Rabelais aimait les équivoques énormes sur les organes de la digestion et de la génération, source peut-être impure mais à coup sûr inépuisable du rire depuis *Gargantua* jusqu'à *M. de Pourceaugnac.*

Un livre, comme celui de M. Tilley ne va pas sans quelques lapsus et quelques fautes involontaires. L'auteur ne m'en voudra pas de les lui signaler, ne serait ce qu'en vue d'une seconde édition que je souhaite très prochaine. Le portrait, qui sert à juste titre de frontispice, fait partie de la Chronologie *collée* et non *colliée*; p. 17 et 142, lire Gué de Vède au lieu de *Vedé*; p. 17, la Devinière était un bien patrimonial d'Antoine Rabelais, et non de sa femme; p. 28, Jean Bouchet ne s'était pas *retiré* à Poitiers vers 1515 pour la bonne raison qu'il n'avait que fort peu quitté cette ville depuis sa naissance et qu'il y habita pour ainsi dire toute sa vie; p. 25 et 171, lire Briand Vallée, au lieu de Briand *de* Vallée; p. 37, *Bridoye* ne devrait pas être traduit, c'est un nom qui existe encore en Poitou et dont l'identité se révèlera un jour ou l'autre; p. 79, la mention du titre de *docteur* ne prouve rien pour la date de la seconde supplique au pape, car Rabelais, selon l'usage du temps s'intitulait ainsi alors qu'il n'était que bachelier (voir art. Plattard, R. E. R., v, 270); p. 361, la bibliographie de M. Plan est de 1904 et non de 1894.

Ces vétilles et quelques autres relevées par M. Plattard dans son article de la *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes* (v, p. 430), n'enlèvent rien à la valeur de l'ensemble. C'est à la fois un livre de bonne foi et de critique judicieuse. C'est surtout l'œuvre d'un lettré sincèrement épris de notre grand écrivain français, et, comme l'on parle toujours bien des choses et des gens que l'on aime, il ne faut pas s'étonner que M. Tilley ait écrit le meilleur ouvrage que nous ayions encore sur Rabelais.

HENRI CLOUZOT.

MINOR NOTICES.

Mr A. G. Ferrers Howell, already known to readers of recent Franciscan literature by his excellent little Introduction to Mr Heywood's translation of the *Fioretti*, gives us a very readable and tasteful rendering of the two *Lives of St Francis of Assisi by Brother Thomas of Celano* (London, Methuen and Co., 1907). The volume is adorned with a reproduction of A. della Robbia's St Francis, and is furnished with an Introduction and an Index. In the Introduction the most important recent critical investigations are noticed. Mr Howell gives due weight to Tamassia's 'careful investigations,' but decides in favour of more traditional views. The text used is that of D'Alençon (1906).

L. R.

La Vita Nuova e Il Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri (Florence, Barbèra, 1908) is the latest volume added to Barbèra's dainty miniature series, *Edizione Vade Mecum.* The type, though small, is wonderfully clear and readable, and the text adopted—following Dr Moore's example—is that of Fraticelli, which was justified for popular use by so recent a critic as Barbi. In the *Canzoniere* only the admittedly authentic poems have been printed, Canzone xvii, Ballate viii and ix, and Sonnetti xxii—xxvi being appended as of doubtful authenticity. There is an Index of first lines.

L. R.

Dr Erich Walter's *Adolf Friedrich Graf von Schack als Übersetzer* (*Breslauer Beiträge zur Literaturgeschichte*, x, Leipzig, M. Hesse, 1907), is a useful study of one aspect of a writer who has been rather unduly depreciated as a literary dilettante. The treatise falls into two main parts, the first affording a survey of Graf Schack's interest in various lands and literatures, the second dealing with his translations, which are grouped according to the 'kinds,' into 'Drama,' 'Epos,' 'Lyrik' and 'Prosa.' Thus Schack's translations from the Spanish and Old English drama are discussed side by side. Considering that the intrinsic value of Schack's work as literature was inferior to its importance in drawing the attention of his countrymen to new poets and literatures, it would have seemed preferable to arrange the investigation according to the literatures. On the whole, Dr Walter's results, which virtually corroborate the general impression left by Schack's work as a translator, hardly justify so long and detailed a publication; much of his book, as belonging to the philological workshop, might with advantage have been curtailed or omitted.

J. G. R.

The publication of *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, which was founded and edited by the late Professor Gustaf E. Karsten, has, we understand, been taken over by the University of Illinois. The editorial supervision has for the present been placed in the hands of Dr Chester N. Greenough, Professor of English, and Dr O. E. Lessing, Professor of German. The forthcoming issue of the *Journal* (Vol. VII, No. 2) will form a memorial to Professor Karsten, and, with the exception of a short biography, is to consist wholly of articles by him.

We are glad to be able to announce that with the October number, *The Modern Language Review* will be very considerably enlarged in size. The annual subscription price will be increased to 12*s.* 6*d.*, the price of single numbers being 4*s.* Members of the Modern Language Association, under whose auspices the *Review* is published, will receive it at a special subscription price of 7*s.* 6*d.* The Hon. Secretary of the Association is Mr G. F. Bridge, 45, South Hill Park, Hampstead, London, N.W., to whom applications for membership should be addressed.

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1908.

GENERAL.

AARNE, A., Vergleichende Märchenforschungen. (Mémoires de la société finno-ongrienne, Helsingfors, XXV.) Leipzig, Harrassowitz. 4 M. 80.

KEITER, H., und T. KELLEN, Der Roman. Geschichte, Theorie und Technik des Romans und der erzählenden Dichtkunst. 3. Aufl. Essen, Fredebeul und Koenen. 4 M.

KER, W. P., Epic and Romance: Essays on Mediaeval Literature. 2nd ed. (Eversley Series.) London, Macmillan. 4*s.* net.

MEILLET, A., Les dialectes indo-européens. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 3 fr. 50.

SYMONS, A., The Symbolist Movement in Literature. 2nd ed. London, Constable. 5*s.* net.

ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

Jahresbericht, Kritischer, über die Fortschritte der romanischen Philologie. Unter Mitwirkung von K. Vollmöller. VIII (1904). 2. Heft. Erlangen, Junge. 14 M. 50.

Romanische Forschungen. Organ für romanische Sprachen und Mittellatein. Herausg. von K. Vollmöller. XXI. Band, 3. Heft. Erlangen, Junge. 16 M. 40.

Italian.

ALLAN, A., Studi sulle opere poetiche e prosastiche di G. Carducci. Turin, Pasta. 1 L. 50.

BARSANTI, E., I processi di Dante. Florence, Lumachi. 1 L. 50.

BELLA, S., Manuale di storia della letteratura italiana. Vol. I. Il predominio della forma sul pensiero. Acireale. 6 L.

BERTONI, G., Attila, poema franco-italiano di Nicolà da Casola. Fribourg. 5 fr.

BIAGI, V., La Quaestio de aqua et terra di Dante: bibliografia, dissertazione critica sull' autenticità, testo e commento, lessigrafia. Modena, Vincenzi. 20 L.

Canti sacri delle colonie albanesi di Sicilia. A cura di G. Schirò. Naples, Bideri. 2 L.

CARDUCCI, G., Antologia carducciana: poesie e prose scelte e commentate da G. Mazzoni e G. Picciola. Bologna, Zanichelli. 3 L.

CELANO, BROTHER THOMAS, The Lives of S. Francis of Assisi. Translated by A. G. Ferrers Howell. London, Methuen. 5*s.* net.

Chiaradia, E. N., La storia del Canzoniere di F. Petrarca. Vol. I. Bologna, Zanichelli. 5 L.

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